Getting It All Into Perspective - A Synoptic Vision for Hobart After Patrick Geddes

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If not now,
then when?
If not us,
then who?
If not here,
then where?
DH 2765
BD 0715

This thesis contains no material which has been accepted for the award of any other degree or diploma in any tertiary institution and, to the best of my knowledge and belief, the thesis contains no material previously published or unpublished by another person, except when due reference is made in the text of the thesis.

1st December, 1994

ABSTRACT

Contemporary town planning practice is dominated by incremental development control processes at local level which are often narrowly focussed and devoid of vision. The emergence of a global paradigm challenges the effectiveness of current planning systems. Increasingly, environmental, social and economic problems are revealed to be no respecters of national boundaries. There is a need to develop ways of planning which acknowledge this increasing interdependence across local, regional and global scales.

Looking backwards may show the way forward. Patrick Geddes, 19th Century Scottish 'universal man' and one of the founding fathers of the town planning movement, developed a robust 'theory of civics' which, by recognising the vital importance of maintaining social and environmental integrity while accommodating technological change, is increasingly relevant today - some 80 years after its development. Best known as an advocate of the comprehensive regional survey, Geddes also developed the concept of 'synoptic vision' - an holistic approach to planning which involved the synthesis of regional data to capture the essence of the region within a comprehensible overarching perspective. Such a vision serves as a tool for communication and a compass for the setting of planning priorities and directions.

This project attempts to develop a synoptic vision for a case study area - the Hobart Metropolitan Region - in the context of the new global paradigm. Geddes' 'Place-Work-Folk ' model borrowed from nineteenth century French sociographer, Frederic Le Play, is employed to make the task more manageable. The project concludes by drawing upon this synoptic vision to make recommendations about town planning practice within the Hobart Metropolitan Region.

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Tony McMullen December 1994

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PREFACE

Throughout this Work, any reference to 'planners', unless otherwise stated is a reference to the town planning profession. The term 'town planning' is taken to be a generic term referring to that field of endeavour which is concerned with the use, development and conservation of land; both urban and non-urban. It is recognised that a multiplicity of interest groups within society are involved in both 'planning ' in its broader context and the achievement of environmental outcomes, whether good and bad. It is also recognised that now, more importantly than ever, the many groups which make up the wider society have a shared responsibility to look after a fragile world. This concentration upon town planners occurs for three reasons:

1. Town planners are involved, on the whole, in interdisciplinary work - which should take into account the various points of view, professional and non-professional, on issues pertaining to the urban and rural environment. Therefore, they are uniquely positioned to build bridges between normally disparate societal groups.

2. Town planners are perhaps the group principally associated by the public with the planning process - and often this association is a negative one. There is a need for planners to develop more positive ways of contributing to ongoing environmental improvements.

3. It is the contention here that the practice of town planning needs to undergo a fundamental change of approach and of focus, in order to be of continuing relevance to the ongoing use, development and conservation of the physical environment.

Chapter 1

Introduction

"Idealism and matter of fact are thus not sundered, but inseparable, as our daily steps are guided by ideals of direction, themselves unreachably beyond the stars, yet indispensable to getting anywhere, save indeed downwards." Patrick Geddes Cities in Evolution p. xxvii

1.1 THE CONTINUING RELEVANCE OF A VISIONARY PERSPECTIVE TO CONTEMPORARY TOWN PLANNING

Modern town planning arose in direct and relevant response to the problems caused by the rapid growth of urban centres following the Industrial Revolution. Improvement of public health, relief of overcrowding and provision of adequate housing for all were the clearly identifiable tasks of early town planners.

Signal figures such as Ebenezer Howard and Le Corbusier articulated clear visionary responses to the problems of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century world. Whilst the urban models proposed by Howard and Le Corbusier have been subject to criticism from some quarters, the effectiveness of their vision-making as tools for the communication of ideas about the physical environment have not been matched by contemporary planners. Perhaps, the complexity of modern living renders the task more difficult. However, there is little doubt that, planners who fail to use vision-making as a communication tool, cannot and will not be able to influence change of the magnitude required to reduce humanity's adverse impact upon the physical environment solely by regulative means.

Howard's proposal for the creation of Garden Cities, though implemented only to the limit of its political acceptability, has had a significant influence on modern town planning producing physical outcomes in suburban form, and the concepts of the green belt and urban decentralisation through the satellite city. (Short, Freestone)

Le Corbusier, responding to the social evils of a late nineteenth century city which, by his time was starting to disappear; and the new problems created by changes in transport technology - in particular, the automobile. His solution for the redesign of the city along more efficient lines was the freestanding tower block in space, with rigid pedestrian/vehicular separation. Although Le Corbusier's vision was well intentioned, its implementation has been roundly criticised for its alienation of city dwellers (Mortlock).

Other planning and design luminaries, such as Frank Lloyd Wright and Daniel Burnham, for good or ill, also articulated clear urban visions in response to the perceived inadequacies of the cities of their times.

In the first half of this century, with the rise of the welfare state and with the efficacy of state planning proven in the command economies of the world wars, the role of government in town planning was recognised by enactment of planning legislation in the United Kingdom, the United States and Australia.

With this government domination of planning, planning visions received 'short shrift' and were implemented only with their radical trimmings removed. (Short) This bureaucratisation of planning meant that "Planning came to be associated not with the achievement of a nobler and higher type of society but with the production of statutory zoning schemes by local authorities : mere house-keeping." (Auster, p.6)

It is hardly surprising that planning has failed and continues to fail to articulate a vision in this bureaucratic setting. Christopher Alexander illustrates this point well by contrasting a farmer ,who tells his family at breakfast of his spontaneous decision to bridge the local creek, with the

building of a bridge by a Public Works Department: "The farmer's act is an act of vision. He presents it in this way to his family. They carry it like that in their minds. And they build it like that. The bridge which the Public Works Department builds is something entirely different. It is arrived at not as a result of vision, but as a result of considered, channelled information. Studies are prepared. Each member of the engineer's team carefully protects himself against possible criticism, and minces words in his report. It is built in the end as a bureaucratic act, entirely without vision." (Alexander, p. 57)

There has been a general loss of faith in the notion of comprehensive planning reinforced by the move of many Western societies towards the political right and an accelerated societal rate of change (Schon, Toffler). "'End-state' planning - the preparation of a comprehensive plan intended to guide the community's future development - is no longer fashionable within the profession, but no consensus has developed regarding appropriate roles to replace it....The seminal thinkers of the profession are now largely historical figures; few "heroes" have emerged to replace them." (Brooks 1988, p.242)

This abandonment of comprehensive planning has had an undesirable side-effect. The notion of vision - of clear portrayal of a society's physical ills and future prospects for their improvement - has been jettisoned as planners concentrate on the incremental questions of development control, conflict resolution and efficiency of service delivery. Important as these fields of endeavour are, they fail to confront broader societal and planning issues in an holistic way and they fail to inform the necessary debate on the scale and complexity of those issues.

The concentration of the planning profession upon small-scale issues has led to a failure to recognise or satisfactorily address large-scale problems which have arisen →

incrementally. Planners have had a preoccupation with the minutiae. It has been easier to concentrate on issues of greater apparent immediacy to the detriment of the development of a comprehensive perspective. However, it is becoming increasingly obvious that such a perspective is imperative, at global, national and regional levels to inform decision-making at local level.

Some of the criticisms levelled at the planning profession have an undeniable air of validity. As Birkeland-Corro puts it, "That 'there isn't any' planning really means that we aren't planning in the sense of either preparing for or making a better future. That 'there's too much' really means what planning we do is negative. That planners have 'too little influence' suggests what we do isn't directed at the important issues; more influence would not mean more relevance." (Birkeland-Corro, p. 8)

1.2 GLOBAL PROMPTS TO A RENEWED EMPHASIS UPON VISION IN TOWN PLANNING

Lewis Mumford was among the first to identify the emergence of a new global paradigm when he wrote in 1961: "We must now conceive of the city, accordingly, not primarily as a place of business or government, but as an essential organ for expressing and actualising the new human personality - that of 'One World Man'. The old separation of man and nature, of townsman and countryman, of Greek and barbarian, of citizen and foreigner, can no longer be maintained: for communication, the entire planet is becoming a village; and as a result, the smallest neighbourhood or precinct must be planned as a working model of the larger world." (Mumford, p.573)

This emergent global paradigm is characterised by internationalisation and by the escalating environmental impact of humankind. Planning measures for local or regional areas which fail to take account of this new state of

global interconnectedness are doomed to irrelevance. Humanity can continue to live in a 'fool's paradise' only at its peril. If planners are truly to recapture some of the visionary spark of the pioneers in their field, they must set an example for the rest of the community. This must involve the framing of planning priorities at local and regional levels with constant reference to a global context. With the arrival of the global paradigm, global, regional and local issues are no longer divorced. Rather, their interconnectedness across scales must be explicitly recognised. Here again, Geddes' concept of synoptic vision is of relevance, because of its insistence that planning for the region or the locale, must take account of the broader perspective.

In the words of the World Commission on the Environment and Development (WCED), "Ecology and economy are becoming more interwoven - locally, regionally, nationally and globally - into a seamless net of causes and effects."(WCED, p.5) In view of this, the development of a purely insular view of planning - at local, regional or national level cannot reasonably persist.

Eckersley and Ekins have each raised concerns that the Commission's remedy for global problems - adoption of the concept of 'sustainable development' does not going far enough by not calling for a halt to the prevailing fixation with economic growth. It is obvious that fundamental changes in humanity's perception of its global home need to occur if these immense ecological problems are to be overcome - and the WCED concurs : "The changes in human attitudes that we call for depend upon a vast campaign of education, debate and public participation...We are unanimous in our conviction that the security, well-being, and very survival of the planet depend on such changes, now. (WCED, p.23) The planning profession, should be preparing to take part in this vital educative campaign, for which regulative measures will be a necessary, but not sufficient, part.

Technological change is not only threatening our planet. It is also changing the way that we function as a society. Society has moved into a "Post -Service Era" as advances in information and communications technology cause huge structural changes affecting the labour market, the economy and the wider society.

Other profound social changes are taking place; such as the break down of the nuclear family and an ageing population base , changes in the nature of work such as growing casualisation and socio-economic changes resulting from a shrinking middle-class. All of these have physical manifestations and spatial implications which impact upon the region and the wider society. If the planning community maintains its fixation with fine detail, the result will be a failure to identify, acknowledge and plan for the impacts of those changes.

Planners, quite rightly, do not have the legitimacy, nor the political power to effect change unilaterally. However, they have a responsibility to suggest spatial solutions to ecological and socio-economic issues affecting the physical environment and bring these visions into wider currency. It is only by encouraging wider community debate about appropriate solutions to those issues that planners can hope to have the influence necessary to effect beneficial change.

Use of a visionary perspective by planners would have the benefit of providing a digestible overview of the spatial environment as a tool for community debate. It also has the benefit of holism - of recognising the interconnectedness of the various influences upon that environment, rather than artificially dismembering them. In addition, the ability to perceive a place from a distance allows for distillation of its essential characteristics, thus facilitating the identification of measures for improvements to that place.

The adoption of 'sustainable development' as the guiding principle behind Tasmania's resource management and planning system has made the development of an holistic visionary approach to planning even more imperative.

1.3 SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT

The World Commission on Environment and Development's report "Our Common Future" (popularly known as the Brundtland Report) in 1987 signalled its concern at the failure of existing political and economic institutions to keep pace with accelerating rates of population, resource depletion, technological change and environmental degradation on a global scale.

"When the century began, neither human numbers nor technology had the power radically to alter planetary systems. As the century closes, not only do vastly increased human numbers and their activities have that power, but major, unintended changes are occurring in the atmosphere, in soils, in waters, among plants and animals and in the relationships among all of these. The rate of change is outstripping the ability of scientific disciplines and our current capabilities to assess and advise. This is frustrating the attempts of political and economic institutions, which evolved in a different, more fragmented world to adapt and cope....The next few decades are crucial. The time has come to break out of past patterns. Attempts to maintain social and ecological stability through old approaches to development and environmental protection will increase instability. Security must be sought through change.... We are unanimous in our conviction that the security, well-being , and very survival of the planet depend on such changes, now." (WCED, pp. 22,23)

The growing interdependence of ecology and economy at local, regional, national and global levels prompted the Commission to suggest a new direction: "We came to see that

a new development path was required, one that sustained human progress not just in a few places for a few years, but for the entire planet into the distant future." (WCED, p.4). This development path was called by the Commission 'sustainable development'.

The concept was defined by the Commission in the following way: "Humanity has the ability to make development sustainable - to ensure that it meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs." (WCED, p.8)

The concept of sustainable development:

- recognises the interdependence of the environment and economic systems and the need for environmental considerations to be incorporated in economic decision-making.

- promotes equity - both within and between generations.

- is concerned with 'development' - a broader conception of human welfare than material 'growth'. The emphasis is on the 'quality' of life, not its 'quantity'. (Jacobs, p.60)

Sustainable development requires decision makers to develop a long term perspective incorporating a 'guardianship' ethic - the earth's capital resources are to be used wisely by 'living on the interest' rather than 'running down the capital'.

Sustainable development requires institutional change to promote integration, in order to ensure that 'environmental feedback' is built into environmental decision-making and performance assessment.

The meaning of the concept is contestable. (Jacobs). Herein at the one time lies its strength and its weakness. The term

'sustainable development' is sufficiently abstract term to mean different things to different people. (Eckersley) This has resulted in the widespread endorsement of the concept, without any general consensus developing as to its interpretation. Jacobs argues that such lack of consensus relates to many of society's key objective concepts (such as 'liberty'). It seems appropriate then that the interpretation of the concept occurs through a legitimate political process.

The Commission recognises that, "sustainable development is not a fixed state of harmony, but rather a process of change in which the exploitation of resources , the direction of investments , the orientation of technological development, and institutional change are made consistent with future as well as present needs. We do not pretend that the process will be easy or straightforward. Painful choices have to be made. Thus, in the final analysis, sustainable development must rest on political will." (WCED, p.9)

Jacobs points to the 'reinvention of collectivism' as a necessary condition for sustainable development. However, he argues that "Collective action will only be held as legitimate if people acknowledge and identify with the community on whose behalf it is undertaken." (Jacobs 1994) It is critical therefore to the achievement of sustainable development that the planning profession moves out from behind its traditional regulatory shield to engage with the community in a more positive and educative way.

The Tasmanian Government has recently enacted a suite of resource management and planning legislation which has 'sustainable development' as the principle underlying its core objectives. These objectives are:

(a) to promote the sustainable development of natural and physical resources and the maintenance of ecological processes and genetic diversity; and

(b) to provide for the fair, orderly and sustainable use and development of air, land and water; and

(c) to encourage public involvement in resource management and planning; and

(d) to facilitate economic development in accordance with the objectives set out in paragraphs (a), (b) and (c); and

(e) to promote the sharing of responsibility for resource management and planning between the different spheres of Government, the community and industry in the State.

"Sustainable development" means managing the use, development and protection of natural and physical resources in a way, or at a rate, which enables people and communities to provide for their social, economic and cultural well-being and for their health and safety while--

(a) sustaining the potential of natural and physical resources to meet the reasonably foreseeable needs of future generations; and

(b) safeguarding the life-supporting capacity of air, water, soil and ecosystems; and

(c) avoiding, remedying or mitigating any adverse effects of activities on the environment." (Land Use Planning and Approvals Act 1993 [Tasmania] Schedule 1 Part 1)

With the enactment of this suite of reforms, sustainable development is firmly established as the yardstick of the State's planning system. The difficult task of putting into effect the system's objectives has begun.

This process will be critically dependent upon the quality and availability of information which effectively synthesises long term trends to provide a practical perspective from which to

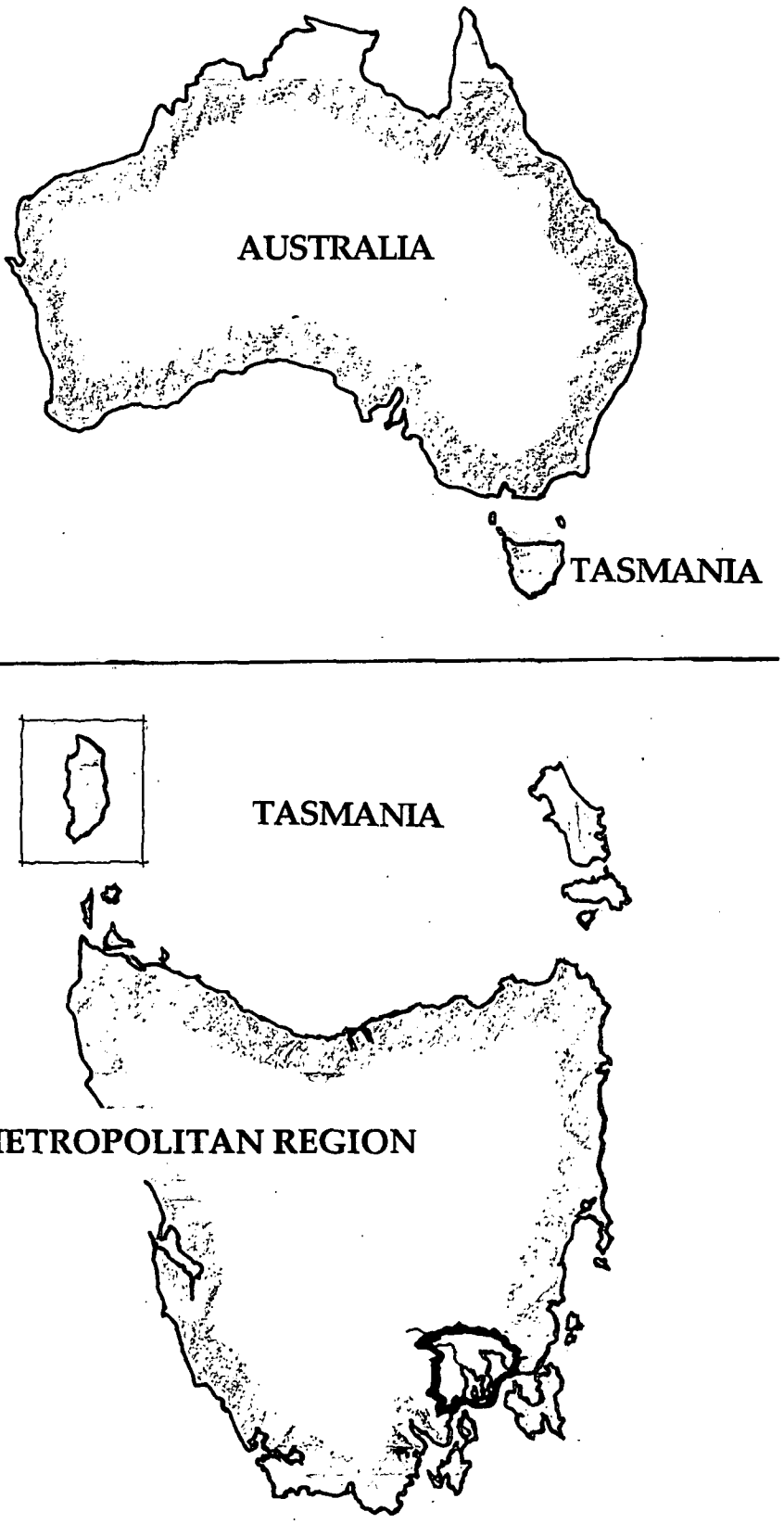
make day-to-day decisions. It is fair to say that much of this information is simply not available at present. More planning resources will need to be devoted to the collection, use and dissemination of this information and less to the administrative, processing activities which currently absorb the major part of the time of planning practitioners.

1.4 THE SELECTION OF THE HOBART METROPOLITAN REGION AS CASE STUDY AREA

The Hobart region, location of Tasmania's capital city, has been selected as the study area for this work. (See Map 1.1 overleaf) The region is defined here as identical to the Greater Hobart Statistical Division. (See Map 1.2 overleaf) This map shows the current Australian Bureau of Statistics definition of that Statistical Division. For reasons of historical comparability, most statistics in this project relate to the boundaries of that Statistical Division prior to the 1992 Local Government reorganisation. (See Map 1.3 overleaf) However, it is acknowledged that the Greater Hobart Statistical Division, as now defined, provides a more up-to-date measure of the extent of the region. The region comprises the municipal areas of Hobart, Glenorchy, Clarence and Kingborough Councils and the urban parts of the municipal areas of Brighton, New Norfolk and Sorell Councils.

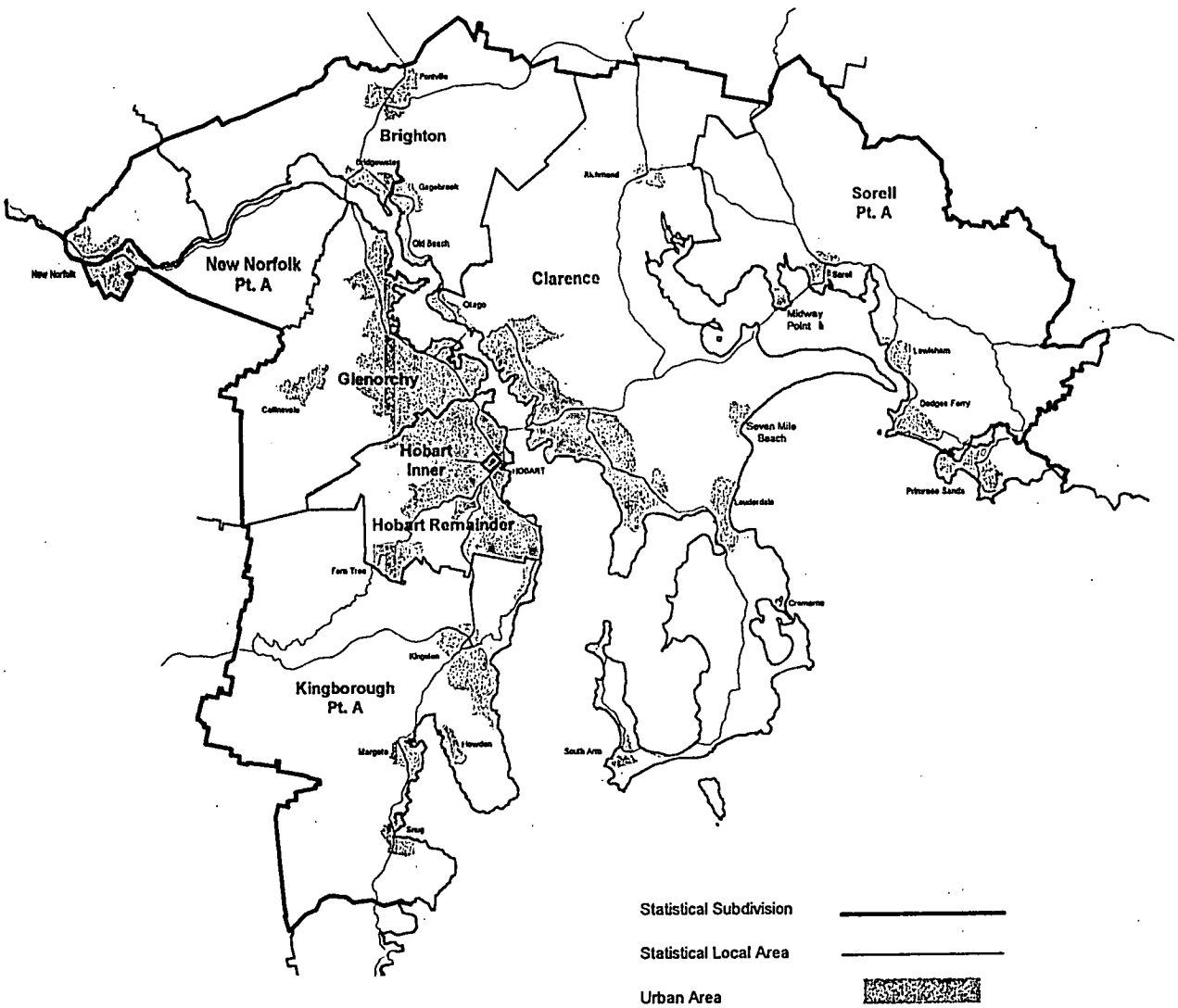
The Hobart region has been chosen because of its proximity and as a result of identification by the author of a need to address planning issues on a more comprehensive basis than currently occurs.

MAP 1.1 LOCATION OF THE HOBART METROPOLITAN REGION WITHIN A STATE AND NATIONAL CONTEXT



MAP 1.2

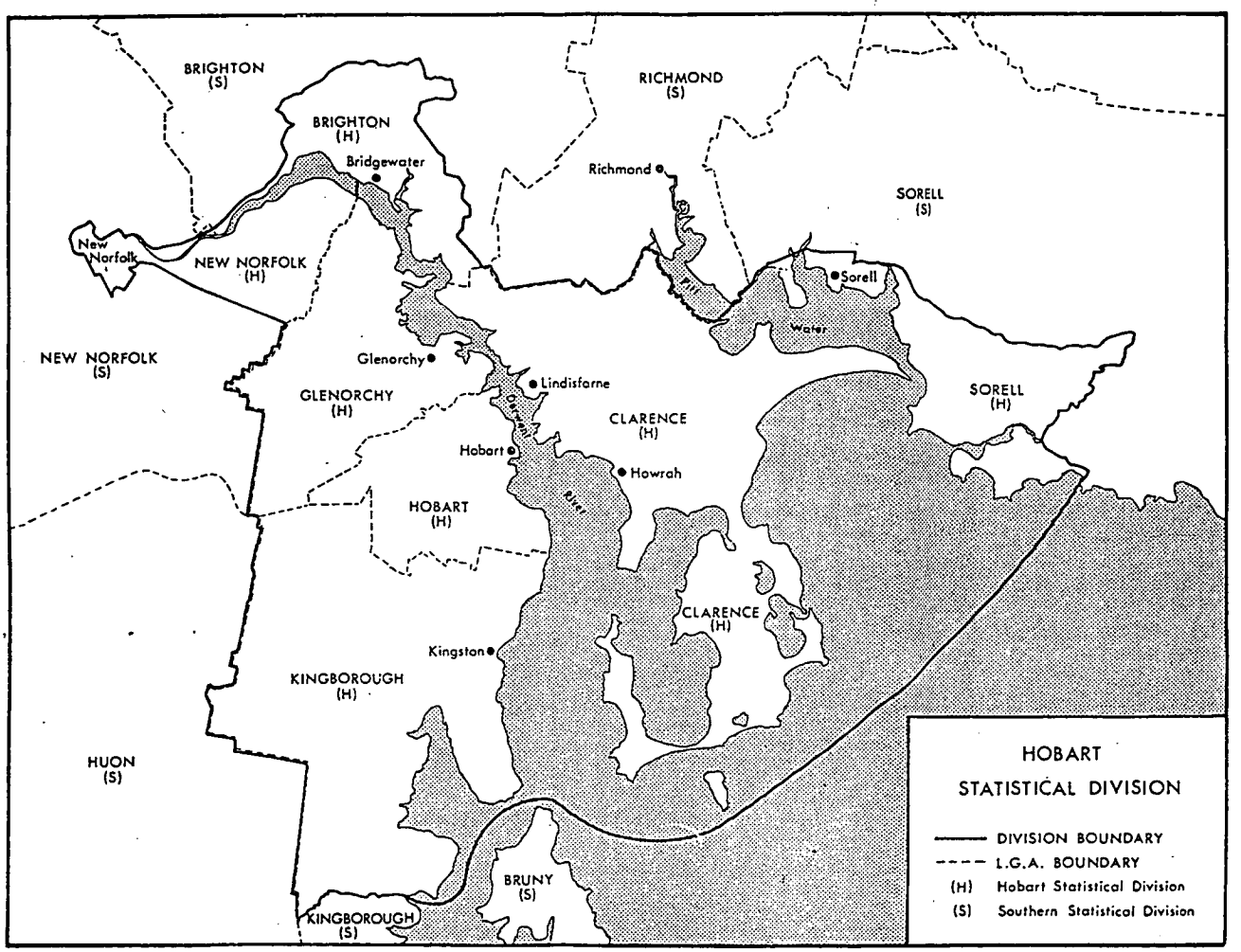
THE GREATER HOBART STATISTICAL DIVISION FOLLOWING THE 1992 REORGANISATION OF LOCAL GOVERNMENT



Source : Australian Bureau of Statistics

MAP 1.3

THE GREATER HOBART STATISTICAL DIVISION BEFORE THE 1992 REORGANISATION OF LOCAL GOVERNMENT



Source: Australian Bureau of Statistics

1.4.1 The Background to Planning in the Hobart Region

Early attempts to arouse interest in town planning by Garden City Movement propagandist, Charles Reade, during his 1916 Australasian Town Planning Tour were largely unsuccessful. Reade's ideas were more sympathetically received in South Australia. (Freestone)

In 1944, the Town and Country Planning Act (Tasmania) was passed - enabling the creation of the office of Commissioner for Town and Country Planning. The Act also provided the headpowers for the preparation of municipal planning schemes. The Federal Labor government of the day had required the enactment of town planning legislation by the State as a precondition for the receipt of housing funds under the first Commonwealth-State Housing Agreement. (Isles, p. 31)

Fred C. Cook's 1945 City of Hobart Plan represented the first real attempt to set out a comprehensive vision for Hobart. Although limited to the boundaries of the City of Hobart, the 'Cook Plan' as it became known, has reasonable claim to comprehensiveness by virtue of its scope - Cook's Plan made recommendations in areas of urban and suburban design, transport, communications, open space and the redevelopment of 'old and decadent' areas, A second claim for the regional status of the Cook Plan can be made by virtue of the fact that the City of Hobart occupied a much larger proportion of the Metropolitan region in population terms at that time, than is now the case.

The Plan was to form the basis of a Planning Scheme under the Town and Country Planning Act. However, it was not until 1992 that a planning scheme covering the majority of the City of Hobart was to be finally approved.

In 1958, the Town and Country Planning Act was amended to allow for the preparation of Master Plans by Master

Planning Authorities, which were regional bodies comprising largely local government representatives. The amendment was "largely brought about by the desire of councils in Hobart region to establish a regional plan for the metropolitan area."(Isles, p. 49) However, these Authorities were given no real power in themselves, depending on the goodwill (and funding) of the individual Councils for their continued operation. Despite the formation of Master Planning Authorities in the North, South and North West , none ever managed to obtain statutory approval for any planning document.

A 1962 Master Plan produced by the Southern Metropolitan Master Planning Authority was not implemented as a result of a decision to commission a report into Hobart's transportation needs. This study, the 1964 Hobart Regional Transportation Study by Wilbur Smith and Associates and the subsequent Hobart Transportation Revision in 1970 proved very significant in shaping Hobart's arterial road network, with the flow-on effects in expansion of the urban area.

Attempts at legislative reform of the Tasmanian planning system through the 1975 Planning and Development Bill failed largely because the local government sector and those with a vested interest in land development, were concerned that the legislation, by strengthening the role and power of regional authorities, would reduce the discretionary powers of councils. (Isles)

A State Strategy Plan process, largely funded by the federal government, was commenced in 1976, with the agreement of the Whitlam federal government and the Nielson state government. The Commissioner for Town and Country Planning was appointed as State Planning Co-ordinator. Following preparation of some 24 working papers by a team of consultants, an interim report was produced in October 1976. This interim report was apparently quashed by the

government because of its wide ranging and critical nature. (Bowman, p. 250)

In 1977, the Southern Metropolitan Planning Authority produced a draft Strategy Plan for Greater Hobart, which outlined a number of possible growth scenarios for the region. The sixth volume, which indicated a preferred growth strategy was never adopted because it threatened the development aspirations of the Kingborough Council. (Isles)

Another attempt to change Tasmania's planning system in 1980 failed, according to Isles because of a failure to win the support of the various heads of department within the Tasmanian public service.

The nearest and approach to a comprehensive physical vision for Hobart is currently articulated through no less than nine disparate statutory planning schemes and interim orders administered by the seven local authorities which comprise the region.

In recent times, there has been no concerted attempt to confront Hobart's planning issues on a comprehensive metropolitan basis. Initiatives such as the HoGlen Traffic Study and the Hobart Central Area Strategy Plan have attempted to address localised manifestations of city-wide problems without a wider metropolitan synthesis as a backcloth.

However, some initiatives funded under the Commonwealth Government's Building Better Cities program hold promise. These include the Greater Hobart Sustainable City project, a process which for the first time seeks to build a partnership of governments, industry and the community to develop a shared vision for the future of the city.

Another example is the Urban Management Co-ordination Program, which seeks to encourage integrated decision-

making by the region's infrastructure providers. At the time of writing, the outcomes of these projects are not yet known.

1.4.2 The Hobart Metropolitan Councils Association (HMCA)

The Hobart Metropolitan Councils Association (HMCA) is a loose confederation of some, but not all, of Hobart's councils. It is an example of voluntary regional co-operation between local governments. Formed in October 1979, its membership comprises the Cities of Hobart, Glenorchy and Clarence and the Kingborough and Brighton Councils. The Sorell and New Norfolk Councils are not represented, although they may be invited to participate in working groups from time to time. The HMCA provides a venue for regular liaison between elected representatives and between general managers. Special purpose committees are also formed from time to time.

The HMCA's objectives include the provision of a forum for addressing regional issues, the facilitation of co-operation and resource-sharing between member councils; promotion of the region to the community, to business and to other tiers of government; participation in government and private programs to enhance the regional environment and the lobbying of other tiers of government on issues of regional strategic importance. (HMCA, p.18)

The HMCA appears well positioned to promote a wider vision for the Hobart Region. However, it is prone to be split by disputes between individual Councils over jurisdictional matters (For example, responsibility for remedying siltation problems in New Town Bay) or competition for funding (for example, for regional entertainment or sporting facilities). The HMCA has proved a useful forum for regional issues. Examples of issues addressed in recent years include the Derwent River Management Plan 1985 and recent studies into regional waste disposal and cultural and recreation facilities However, the HMCA is purely a voluntary group.

There is no compulsion for member councils to implement the recommendations of the various reports sponsored by Association. Many initiatives have foundered because of political resistance from those member councils.

In addition, the HMCA does not include in its membership those bodies with an important role in the planning of the wider city; for example, the Hobart Regional Water Board and the Metropolitan Transport Trust.

1.4.3 The Need for a Vision of the Hobart Metropolitan Region

As emphasised earlier, Hobart is not insulated from global problems These problems are manifest at local and regional levels and therefore, will need to be addressed at local and regional scale. Without a normative vision of the future city, it is difficult to imagine Hobartians, accustomed to a low rate of change, making the large adjustments necessary to achieve the new sustainable development path considered imperative by the WCED. Without a perspective of Hobart as it is and a shared vision of the possibilities of the future city, it will be difficult to generate the heightened public awareness necessary for this new path of sustainability to supplant the status quo.

No comprehensive perspective of the Hobart region exists. A concentration upon immediate, short-term planning issues has proven the least pragmatic approach of all. Many fundamentally important issues have thus escaped the attentions of the planning profession.

With a planning profession which has lost its visionary focus through its fixation with pragmatism, with global problems impacting upon Hobart and with that city lacking a comprehensive vision of present or future, it appears timely to consider the ideas of Patrick Geddes, town planning pioneer and promoter of the concept of regional planning in order to gain some hint of the responses necessary to

confront the global ecological and social challenges which overshadow us all.

The town planning profession's most significant potential contribution to these challenges is to articulate a vision of the city - both present and future. Only by doing this will the profession be able to engage citizens in debate as to what constitutes the desirable and achievable city of the future.

1.5 PROJECT OBJECTIVES

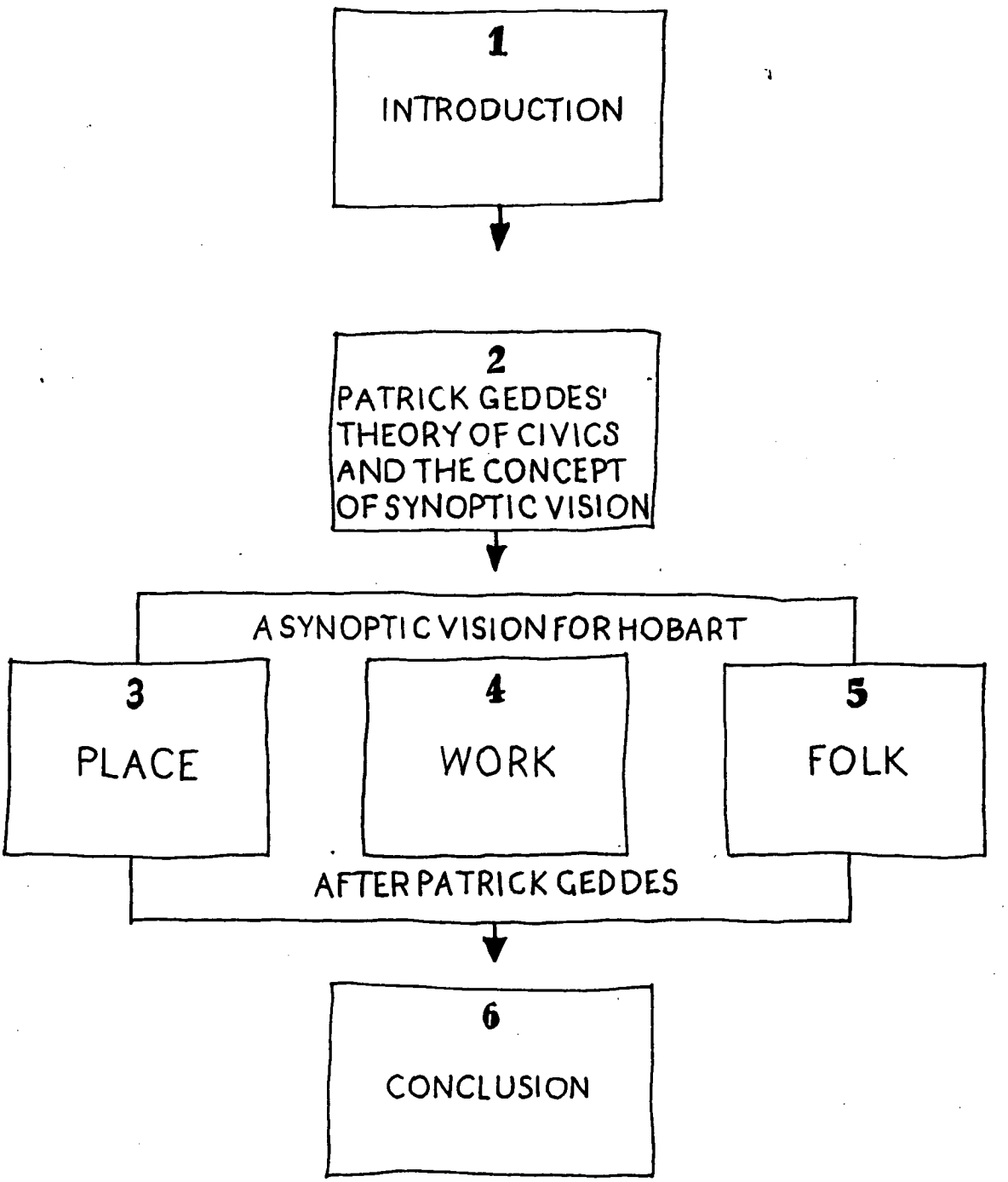
The objectives of this project are two-fold. The first aim is to explore the planning approach of turn-of-the-century Scottish planning pioneer, Patrick Geddes, a man of incredible vision and holism. Geddes was the first to point to the need to develop a comprehensive, yet synthetic, perspective or 'synoptic vision' of the place for which one plans. It is suggested here that much can be learned from the Geddesian approach - an approach which remains relevant despite the effluxion of time.

The second aim of the project is to test the usefulness of Geddes' approach by attempting a 'synoptic vision' for a particular region. The project takes the Hobart metropolitan region as its case study area.

The project concludes by making general recommendations regarding the role of the planner. More particularly, the project considers planning structures which might encourage holistic planning for the Hobart region. In addition, a 'fuzzy vision' for the region is posited, with consequent assignment of regional policy priorities.

FIGURE 1.1

PROJECT STRUCTURE



1.6 OUTLINE OF FOLLOWING CHAPTERS

Chapter Two explores the ideas of Patrick Geddes - his theory of civics and the concept of synoptic vision.

Chapters Three, Four and Five develop a personal 'synoptic vision' for the Hobart Region, based on the "Place, Work, Folk" model of French sociographer Frederic Le Play, which was employed by Geddes.

Chapter Six contains the project's conclusions.

Chapter 2

Patrick Geddes' Theory of Civics and the Concept of Synoptic Vision

"The final point which emerges from the consideration of Geddes is the relevance of his synoptic approach...Few things could be as pertinent to our needs today as a way of seeing the unity and wholeness of urban life. The possibility of achieving such a perspective was first suggested by Patrick Geddes. Herein lies his best claim to abiding relevance."

P. D. Goist , p. 36

2.1 INTRODUCTION

In the opening chapter, the importance of the development of a comprehensive perspective upon the place for which one plans was emphasised. Patrick Geddes, town planning pioneer, was among the first to affirm the significance of such an approach. This chapter examines his theory of civics and his concept of synoptic vision.

Patrick Geddes was "an unclassifiable polymath" (Hall, p. 137), one of the founders, not only of regional planning, but of modern town planning itself. Born in Ballater, Scotland in 1854, Geddes died in Montpellier, France in 1932. He was, "the archetypal comic professor" (Hall, p. 139) - "an unusually complete man : one who delighted in escaping from all labels, pigeon-holes and compartments, be they of science or of action. Turn by turn - and even simultaneously - he was a botanist, economist, sociologist, producer of pageants, public lecturer, writer of verse, art critic, publisher, civic reformer, town planner, Victorian moralist, provocative agnostic and academic revolutionary. But in his own mind, he was a 'comprehensive synthesising generalist' whose unswerving aim was to 'see life whole'." (Boardman, p.1)

For a number of reasons, Geddes' full legacy to the study and practice of town planning is not widely understood or appreciated. Geddes' idiosyncratic writing style caused many of his written works to be clouded with a certain obscurity. This lack of clarity was not assisted by Geddes' tendency to invent new words to describe the concepts which he

developed. The broad compass of his work and his refusal to conform to conventions placed him outside of the academic establishment of his day. Geddes' preference for action rather than words diminished to an extent the written record bequeathed to his successors. Perhaps not the least of reasons for Geddes' ideas not having found greater currency was expressed in the overheard remark of an old lady attending one of his lectures in 1919 : "He has been talking to the next generation - it is too much for us." (Kitchen, p. 291)

Despite these difficulties, Geddes' work has been perpetuated through the work of other famous theorists and practitioners, such as Lewis Mumford and Sir Patrick Abercrombie. "Geddes' influence will never be known to the world at large ... he works by his disciples ... his teaching is of such a sort that it does not get watered down in transmission: it is a sort of vital idea ... a divine innoculation that goes on spreading its infusion without exhausting its original elan." (Abercrombie in MacMillan, p. 81)

In Chapter One, the dearth of vision and lack of perspective in contemporary town planning was alluded to. This deficiency was cited as a general problem, with particular application to the Hobart Metropolitan Region. It is the contention here that Geddes' approach to planning for the urban region is of increasing relevance. Geddes' theory of civics and his notion of 'synoptic vision', developed at the beginning of the Twentieth Century signal an appropriate direction for town planning as the next century dawns.

The intention of this chapter is to demonstrate this continuing relevance through the words of Geddes himself, his biographers and other commentators.

2.2 GEDDES' THEORY OF CIVICS

2.2.1 Cultural Evolution

In the 1870's, Geddes trained under the famous biologist, Thomas Huxley. At that time, the scientific world was still exploring the repercussions of the theory of evolution following the publication of Charles Darwin's 'The Origin of Species by Means of Natural Selection, or, The Preservation of Favoured Races in the Struggle for Survival' in 1859.

Geddes' early biological training had considerable influence upon his world view. "Geddes believed that cities, like other living organisms, were constantly changing and adapting , hopefully to reach a higher form. He did not insist that each stage was better than the last - in fact, Geddes praised medieval towns over most of the nineteenth century industrial cities - but he did have faith that the best aspects of the city would eventually emerge if man did not interfere with its evolution. " (Lesser, p.313)

He considered that the possibility of evolution to a higher form of society was ever-present. "Despite our contemporary difficulties - industrial, social , and political, - there are available around us the elements of a civic uplift, and with this of general advance to a higher plane of industrial civilisation." (Geddes 1915, p. xxv)

Whilst Geddes was a believer in the concept of evolution, his version of the process of natural selection was rather different to the commonly held notion of a process dominated by conflict and competition. "He saw man as an integral part of nature, and nature as a combination of forces , predominantly benevolent, working towards species-maintaining ends. The 'struggle for survival, weakest to the wall' ethic that fuelled the laissez faire economists and industrialists was anathema to him." (Kitchen, pp. 15,16)

2.2.2 Pragmatism versus Idealism

Coining new words to describe the early and late phases of the industrial age, Geddes drew a distinction between the essential outcomes of the 'Paleotechnic' and 'Neotechnic' development paths, These outcomes were, respectively, 'Kakotopia' (not quite Hell) and 'Eutopia' (not quite Utopia). He considered that regardless of the path taken by a society, "The life and labour of each race and generation of men are but the expression and working out of their ideals." (Geddes 1915, p. 76) For Geddes it was the prevailing ideology of a society which determined social and environmental outcomes.

He believed firmly in the notion that civic action should be guided by ideals. However, these goals were not utopian in the sense of being determined with no reference to the real world and therefore unachievable. Rather, the goal was the creation of a 'Eutopia', through the application of ideals in a practical way to the actual city ... which "lies in the city around us; and ... must be planned and realised, here or nowhere, by us as its citizens - each a citizen of both the actual and ideal city seen increasingly as one."(Geddes 1915, p.xxvii)

"Eutopia is thus every whit as realisable an ideal for the opening Neotechnic phase of the Industrial Age as has been that of 'material progress' , that of 'industrial development' - of the existing black and squalid Kakotopias amid which the Paleotechnic disorder is now approaching its close." (Geddes 1915, pp. 400-1)

For Geddes, the extremes of Eutopia and Kakotopia were yardsticks - "extremes which enable us to criticise the city of the present, and to make provision for its betterment, its essential renewal". (Geddes 1915, p.87)

Geddes was scathing in his criticism of utilitarian philosophy - which he termed 'futilitarian' - with its short-sighted concentration on accumulation of money for its own sake and the dissipation of resources. Those embracing Neotechnic ideas , would reckon wealth "less habitually in money-wages, and more in terms of the real environment which these are only of use to buy."(Geddes 1915, p.207)

2.2.3 "By Leaves We Live"

Geddes' trained as a biologist. As a consequence, biological metaphors pervade his work. He therefore emphasised the vital importance of a healthy environment as the foundation of civic life.

For Geddes' the earlier stages of the industrial age were characterised by waste of energy and depletion of natural resources. He identified the emergence of a new age - the 'Neotechnic Age' - founded on a healthy environment.

"In Geddes' Neotechnic Age, the ultimate goal is healthy environment, in its full meaning ... Thus nature conservation becomes a priority, indeed a necessity, not merely to provide a temporary escape from the rigours of the work place, but as an intrinsic part of people's lives. Hills and moorlands between cities need to be preserved, not only to provide a clean source of water but to be accessible to everyone. For those who for some reason cannot visit the countryside regularly, cities must show evidence of the natural and the unspoiled ... The commercial quarters of the Neotechnic City should be interspersed with interconnecting parks, streets should be lined with trees, and greenery should be in evidence as much as possible. (Leonard, p.75)

Geddes pointed to the Scandinavian countries such as Norway , which he considered to be leading the way towards this new Age. "Again, the conditions for labour and its real wages, in the innumerable garden-towns and villages which

are springing up in these conditions, each limited in size by that of its stream, and thus continuous with glorious and comparatively undestroyed natural environment, afford an additional factor of competition, more permanently important than those of money wages and market prices." (Geddes 1915, p. 54)

FIGURE 2.1 - "MAKE THE FIELD GAIN ON THE STREET, NOT MERELY THE STREET GAIN ON THE FIELD"

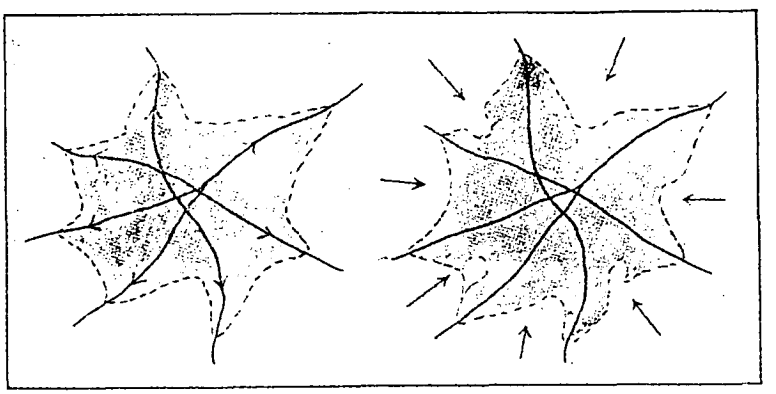


FIG. 20.—Town→Country: Country→Town.

Source: Geddes 1915, p. 96

Geddes' urgings about the importance of nature as the foundation of a healthy society, unfashionable in his time, find currency in the aftermath of the Brundtland Report as nations struggle to implement sustainable development regimes.

2.2.4 Place, Work and Folk

Geddes was influenced by the French sociologist, Frederic Le Play (1806-1882), who identified the interrelationship between place, work and family. (Meller 1990 pp. 34-38)

Le Play was a mining engineer turned sociographer, who in his major work, "Les Ouvriers Européens" - The European Workers (1855)- undertook a comparative study of European working class families, concentrating on the interdependence

of a society's ecological context, its occupations and family structure. For Le Play, it was the ecological context which fundamentally determined the nature of society. Occupations and the financial resources they provided formed the basis of social organization.The family rather than the individual was the critical social unit. (Fletcher ,pp. 658-659)

Geddes demonstrated this relationship in his famous Valley Section, which showed the interrelationship between the environmental context, the types of occupations carried out in a particular region and the particular nature of its society.

FIGURE 2.2 - THE VALLEY SECTION OF GEDDES

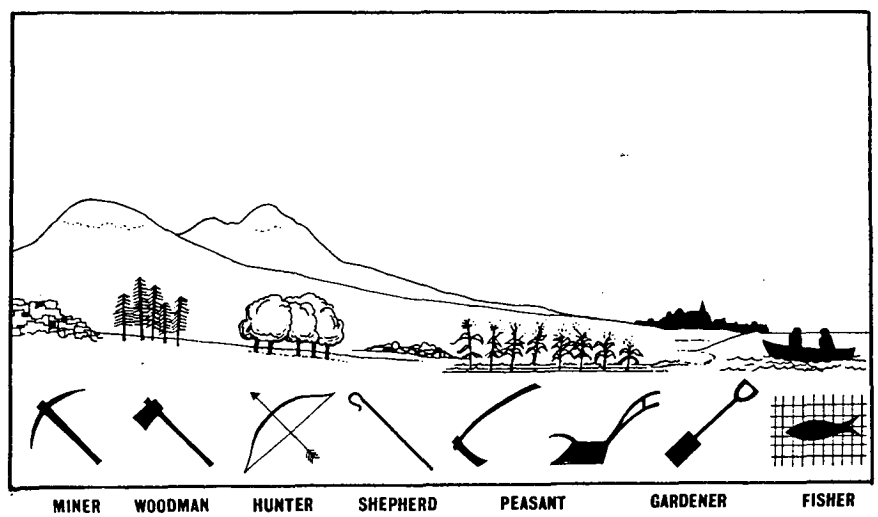


FIGURE 5.4 *The Valley Section.*
The essence of Geddes' regional scheme, from a paper of 1905: Folk-Work-Place in perfect harmony, the city in the centre of things.

Source: Hall, p. 143

"Folk, work, place" is Geddes' rendering in English of Le Play's formula; in other words, social phenomena are to be accounted for in terms of factors of human nature (including culture), occupations or ways of getting a living, and physical environment."(House, p. 369)

Geddes saw the elements of Le Play's trilogy as intrinsically linked: "Place, work and folk - environment, function and

organism - are thus no longer viewed apart, but as the elements of a single process - that of healthy life for the community and the individual." (Geddes 1915, p. 198)

Le Play's relationship could be used in planning for the preferred future of a city, such as Edinburgh; "to consider the whole situation - the existing place, work and people, with their existing advantages and aptitudes, limitations and possibilities; and thence thinking out the further development and better correlation of these." (Geddes 1915, p. 377)

"This conception is of the settlements of men, from small to great, as initially determined by their immediate environment; and though thence extending into larger and larger towns and cities, yet retaining profoundly, even if obscurely, much of their initial regional character and activity, spirit and type. ... Thus local character and history ... turn out to be regional and occupational at the bottom." (Geddes 1915, p. 280)

Geddes was able to translate Le Play's dictum into his biological terms : "Healthy life is completeness of relation of organism, function and environment and all at their best. Stated , then in social and civic terms, our life and progress involve the interaction and uplift of people with work and place, as well as of place and work with people." (Geddes 1915, p.392)

The "Place, Work, Folk" relationship provides a much-needed focus for contemporary planners, because of its distillation of the essence of the linkage of environmental outcomes with economic and social forces.

2.2.5 Technological Change

Geddes, in 'Cities in Evolution' noted the spread of industrial development outside traditional urban areas as a result of changes in technology, transportation systems and

population growth. Geddes called these new urban regions 'conurbations'.

Geddes was a strident critic of the early industrial age, which he termed the 'Paleotechnic Age', driven by utilitarian philosophy and based on exploitation of coal and steam. "Our industrial age in its beginnings, and indeed too long in its continuance, turned upon getting up coal almost anyhow, to run machinery almost anyhow, to produce cheap products to maintain too cheap people almost anyhow - and to call the result 'progress of wealth and population'. Such swift multiplication of the quantity of life, with corresponding swift exhaustion of the material resources on which this life depends, has been too much ..." (Geddes 1915, p. 52)
These comments reverberate through the decades to the present day, where consumer societies continue their profligate use of resources.

As previously stated, Geddes believed that the Paleotechnic Age was being superseded by a 'Neotechnic Age' founded upon electricity and oil. "Now here lies the present point - that nowadays a new difficulty altogether has arisen - namely, that of inducing the leaders of the present industrial world in their turn ... to realise that they are in the presence of the actual birth and present growth of a new industrial order - one differing scarce less completely from the older one, in which they are so fully engaged, than did their industrial order from the old agricultural one." (Geddes 1915, p. 58)

The possibilities for this new age, "with its better use of resources and population towards the bettering of man and his environment together ... the creation, city by city, region by region, of its Eutopia, each a place of effective health and well-being, even of glorious and in its way unprecedented beauty..." (Geddes 1915, p.73)

Geddes identified the potential for advances in technology to contribute to social and environmental improvement. It seems apparent that the ideological forces of which Geddes was so critical in the early years of this century, still hold sway. Nevertheless, we are again at the threshold of a paradigm shift - this time, as a result of advances in information and communications technology. Again the challenge is to harness this technology in appropriate ways to facilitate social and environmental improvement. This can only occur if there are corresponding changes in shared social values, for it is "Only as group idealisms awaken anew among ourselves, (that) our modern towns (can) become recivilised into cities worthy of the name." (Geddes 1915, p.305)

2.2.6 Culture Cities

For Geddes, the cities of the Neotechnic Age would be 'culture cities'. He identified Norway as being at the vanguard of this transformation: "they are entering upon the development of culture-cities, which already, in terms of quality of life and of civilisation alike are actually and proportionately in advance of ours." (Geddes 1915, p.81)

The city, and its institutions, not only provide a backdrop to daily life, they become a part of its meaning: "For as we escape from the myths of a homeless individualism we see that the city - in one age with acropolis and forum, in another with townhouse and cathedral - has ever been the theatre and stage, indispensable for expressing, with any real fulness and adequacy, each individual life." (Geddes 1915, p.141)

Geddes stressed the continuity of city culture. He continually emphasised the need for decisions relating to a place to be based on knowledge of both its unique history and present conditions.

"Here, then, is the problem before us on our return to survey our modern towns , our ancient cities anew, to decipher their origins and trace their growth , to preserve their surviving memorials and to continue all that is vital in their local life; and on this historical foundation, and on a corresponding survey and constructive criticism of our actual present, go forward to plan out a bettering future with such individual and collective foresight as we may." (Geddes 1915, p. 205)

In his description of a town planning tour of Germany, Geddes praised the Germans for their efforts to preserve genius loci through respect for the environmental and cultural elements of the meaning of a place: "It is much for the lovers of the past that historic memories and associations are ...known or valued as the spiritual heritage of the community; that ancient places and monuments , old time streets and houses are not swept away wholesale on this or that crude pretext or convenience or of sanitation, but are cleansed and conserved as the very nucleus of the city's material heritage.

"It is mental illumination, too, for our 'practical man' to see not only education and health held in higher esteem than with ourselves, but natural beauty preserved , developed, rendered accessible to all, from river-front to mountain-forest; to see, too, that art is not something out of everyday life, something 'unpractical', at best to be grudgingly supplied in schools as a reputed aid towards the design of marketable commodities; but something to be viewed and treated as a worthy and social end in itself - in architecture, sculpture, and painting, in concert, drama, and opera." (Geddes 1915, pp. 214-215)

As the world continues to shrink by virtue of improvements in communications and information technology, the differentiation of places, one from another, will be of increasing cultural and economic importance. As more and

more urban environments are impoverished by unchecked growth, those which can maintain and enhance their quality of life will have a distinct competitive advantage.

As changes in the labour market displace traditional occupational groups and as leisure time increases, it is quality of life which will be the 'social glue' - providing the personal identity once obtained largely through work . Geddes emphasised the promotion of quality of life as vital to not only to the well being of its inhabitants, but also to the competitive advantage of a place.

2.2.7 Town Planning, Civics and the Citizen

Geddes was sympathetic to the ideas of the Frenchman, Elisee Reclus and the Russian, Peter Kropotkin; who were both anarchist geographers. "From Reclus and Kropotkin, and beyond them from Proudhon, Geddes took his position that society had to be reconstructed not by sweeping governmental changes like the abolition of private property, but through the efforts of millions of individuals." (Hall, p. 145)

This anarchist perspective coloured Geddes' conception of the relationship between town planning, civics and the citizen. He decried top down planning processes - it was for the citizens to determine the future of their place : "town planning is not something which can be done from above, on general principles, easily laid down, which can be learned in one place and imitated in another - that way Haussmannism lies. It is the development of a local life, a regional character, a civic spirit, a unique individuality ..." (Geddes, p.205)

It was only through active citizen participation that Geddes believed society could make the evolutionary step to a Neotechnic Age. He directed a plea to his readers about the need of "arousing observation and extending it, of knowing our regions and cities in detail, and of making ourselves more

competent practically to share in the arousal and development of our own home-city instead of merely deputing our responsibilities to others through the political or municipal voting apparatus. " (Geddes, p.394)

However, Geddes recognised a legitimate role for government: "The present is the day of small things: our fellow citizens have first to be persuaded: hence this repeated emphasis on the need of private initiatives. But by all means let every possible step be taken within the municipality, and in all its various departmental offices as well as without; and let public powers be obtained as far as possible, and as fast as they can, utilising precedents wherever these exist." (Geddes 1915, p.107)

Geddes was the first to identify the 'conurbation' as local government areas were swallowed up in a "vast new unity, long ago well described as a 'province covered with houses'." (Geddes 1915, p.27) He urged, in the case of London, that, "if the growth process continues, as in every way obviously under present conditions it must, the governing body must overtake the spreading growth, and bring all that is really functional London into its province, with economy and advantage to the vast majority of all concerned." (Geddes 1915, p.28)

The whole purpose of Geddes' theory of civics was to create, " a sense of community just where it was least found , in the barren social wastelands of the modern city." (Meller 1973, p.298) However, this could not be accomplished by the planner alone :"No matter how good a planner's work is, Geddes believed, it cannot last until the citizens perpetuate it . It is useless to make physical plans without simultaneously educating the people living in the city" (Lesser, p.322)

To that end, Geddes' efforts in town planning and civics were aimed at the encouragement of co-operative efforts

among and between specialists and citizens. He furthered his mission (inter alia) through tireless travel, lecturing, the promotion of civic exhibitions and pageants, publication of articles, books and planning reports, 'conservative surgery' on slum dwellings and the establishment of initiatives such as the Outlook Tower in Edinburgh and the Collège des Ecossais in Montpellier, France.

Geddes recognised the prime importance of self-determination - the ability of communities to decide their own futures. However, the interest of citizens had to be aroused to encourage them to participate in this process. To this end, all involved in the city building process needed to develop an understanding of the place for which they were planning - either intuitively or by more rational means.

Contemporary town planning seems to have largely lost that ability to arouse and educate, which was so prominent in the early years of its development through Geddes, himself, and the Garden City Movement. The 'lion's share' of resources is devoted to a necessary ; and yet negative, regulatory approach, which is unlikely, of itself, to yield the measure of outcomes required. Without much larger efforts to promote community involvement in the planning process, to be involved in efforts to inform mainstream debate about the future of cities and regions, the efforts of planners will continue to be marginalised.

2.2.8 Understanding the City and the Region

Borrowing the regional concept from Reclus and Kropotkin and the social survey from Le Play, Geddes developed the notion of the comprehensive 'Civic survey' as a means to greater understanding of the city and the region. (Meller 1990)

The understanding derived from comprehensive survey was essential to the Geddesian approach : "Without such

increasing, deepening and generally diffusing realisation of the character and spirit of our city, our town planning and improvement schemes are at best but repeating ... those 'bye-law streets' with which the past generation was too easily content, but with which we are now becoming so thoroughly disenchanted." (Geddes, p. 366)

Geddes' comprehensive civic survey of the urban region was two-dimensional, incorporating a general, or synoptic, view and a detailed survey. "Geddes understood that in order to perceive a city fully, the planner must see it both from a distance and in detail." (Lesser, p. 322)

Certainly, the time is ripe for a return to comprehensive regional survey. Decision making by planners at all levels can be improved through the availability of a comprehensive regional database. For at present, planners at local and regional level are operating to a large extent within an information vacuum.

While Geddes' advocacy of detailed regional survey has widely influenced the practice of regional planning, it seems that less attention has been paid to Geddes' concept of synoptic vision. The tendency has been for the urban region to be swamped with a myriad of planning studies and planning controls at the local level, while many of the larger issues confronting the region remain unnoticed or unresolved.

2.3 GEDDES' CONCEPT OF SYNOPTIC VISION

The concept of synoptic vision was an intrinsic part of Geddes' approach to the planning of the urban region. Geddes' synoptic view was "an overarching vision that synthesises everything into a single image." (Lesser, p.320)

Geddes approach is perhaps encapsulated in the following words: "The general principle is the synoptic one, of seeking as far as may be to recognise and utilise all points of view - and so to be prepared for the Encyclopaedia Civica of the future. For this must include at once the scientific and, as far as may be, the artistic presentment of the city's life : it must base upon these an interpretation of the city's course of evolution in the present : it must increasingly forecast its future possibilities: and thus it may arouse and educate citizenship, by organising endeavours towards realising some of these worthy ends." (Geddes 1915, pp. 320-321) From the above words, the characteristics of Geddes' concept of synoptic vision appear to be manifold. The concept implies a shared vision of the future city. It recognises the time continuum - of past, present and future. It allows for rational and intuitive appreciation. Finally, it serves as a tool for practical community involvement.

Current planning practice is largely focussed on incremental, small-scale development and the consideration of its effects within a short time frame. To an extent, then, the planning system reinforces the human tendency towards myopia. Incrementalism in decision-making is resulting in long term environmental and social damage as many of the cumulative effects of that decision-making are only obvious from a more distant reference point - whether it be from the point of view of time, scale or quantity. Many other effects simply 'fall between the cracks' of the planning system. For example, lack of co-ordination along boundaries - whether they be planning scheme or marine-terrestrial interfaces.

As Geddes pointed out, this lack of co-ordination becomes all too apparent from a distance:
"At this stage the City becomes again reviewed as a whole, as he who understands a town plan sees all the town as from an aeroplane. All our activities - industrial and commercial, legal and political, cultural, and what not- become seen in

relation to one another, as so many aspects and analyses of the city's life. To make this city more healthy and effective, the unrelated individual activities with which we have been too long content are found insufficient; we need fuller co-ordination and harmony of them, like that of the instruments of the orchestra, of the actors in the drama. We expect this of soldiers in the field , of workers and organisers in the factory, of assistants and partners in business. Is it not for this lack of orchestration, of this harmonious organisation, upon the larger civic stage which our town plans so clearly reveal, that our cities, full of detailed efficiencies of many kinds, are still so far from satisfying us as collectively efficient? The time, then, is right; the place is every city; each needs its Civic Survey and Exhibition, its Civic Study and Laboratory." (Geddes 1915, p. 268)

Two episodes from Geddes' infancy and young adulthood help others to understand his fixation with vision:

Geddes, as a boy, enjoyed a happy childhood in close contact with nature. "One of young Geddes' favourite places was Kinnoull Hill, where he would gaze out over his native Perthshire region and people the area with the great figures of Scottish history. Geddes brought this experience to the study of cities when in later years he continually urged citizens and municipal authorities to provide themselves with a vantage point for viewing their city comparable to his boyhood haunt. " (Goist, p. 32)

Second, while on a study tour to Mexico at the age of twenty-five, Geddes was taken ill, losing his sight for several weeks. This experience led to Geddes' discovery of the 'thinking machine' - a kind of intuitive matrix - which , though largely incomprehensible to others, enabled Geddes to synthesise information from a variety of sources into a coherent whole. Inevitably, the experience of blindness must

have emphasised for Geddes the importance of vision. (Boardman, Kitchen)

There were other influences: Geddes' training in biology had taught him the value of direct observation; and the ideas of the French sociologist, Auguste Comte. "Comte's effort to establish the relationship among various sciences appealed to one who had early developed a synoptic outlook." (Goist, p. 32)

FIGURE 2.3 - THE EDINBURGH OUTLOOK TOWER

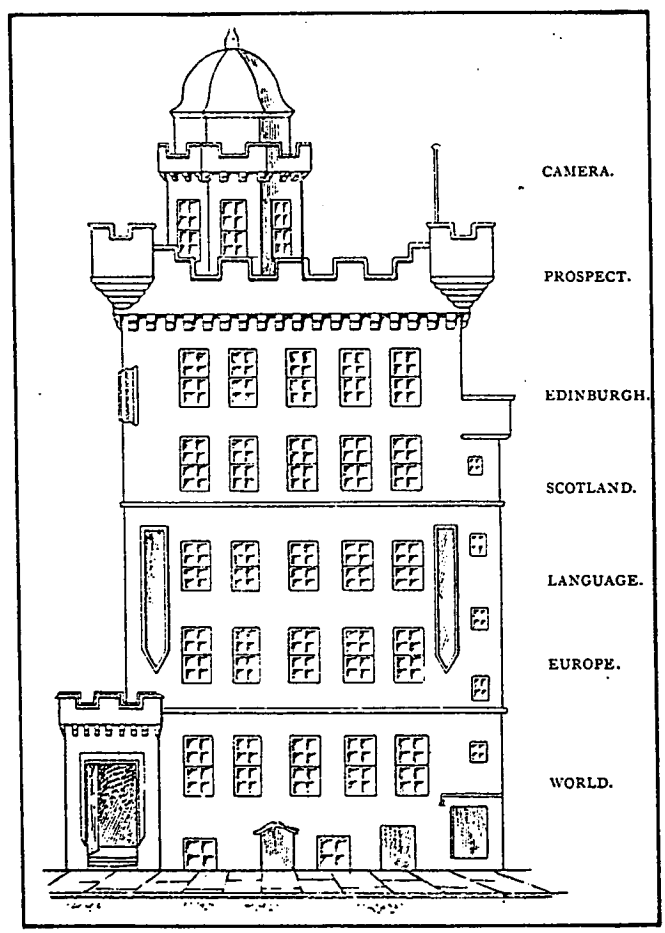


FIG. 50.—Outlook Tower in diagrammatic elevation, with indications of uses of its storeys—as Observatory, Summer School, etc., of Regional and Civic Surveys; with their widening relations, and with corresponding practical initiatives.

Source: Geddes 1915, p. 324

The most concrete demonstration of Geddes' planning approach was the Edinburgh Outlook Tower, opened on the Royal Mile in 1892, (See Figure 2.3 overleaf) "in which he tried to precis his synoptic view of the universe in order to educate people towards sharing his vision." (Kitchen, p.17)

The building, formerly owned by an optometrist, contained a tower, within which was located a camera obscura and an observation area, or prospect. On the floors below were displays graded progressively in subject from Edinburgh at the top floor down to the world at ground level. Visitors to this 'sociological laboratory' for the study of cities would begin their tour seeing the condensed images from the camera obscura (the artistic view, resembling a painting). Next, visitors would be taken to the prospect and shown a sweeping panorama of the city (the scientific view , showing the complexity of the city) before descending the various display floors to receive an ever widening perspective on the science of civics. (Geddes, Kitchen, Meller 1973)

From Patrick Abercrombie, we have a first hand impression of the effect of such a tour: "it is safe to say that the modern practice of planning in this country would have been a more elementary thing if it had not been for that Edinburgh room and all that this implied. It was a torture chamber to those simple souls that had been ravished by the glorious perspectives or heartened by healthy villages shown in the other and ampler galleries ... The visitors could criticise his show - the merest hotch-potch - picture postcards - newspaper cuttings - crude old woodcuts - strange diagrams - archaeological reconstructions ... but if they chanced within the range of Geddes' talk, henceforth nothing could medicine them to that sweet sleep which yesterday they owed. There was something more in town planning than met the eye." (Abercrombie, pp. 128-129)

Geddes' Outlook Tower illustrated "the primacy of the civic and social outlook intensified into local details with all the scientific outlooks of a complete survey." (Geddes 1915, p. 325) It was a metaphor for Geddes' approach to civic survey - the civil and social outlook or synoptic vision is intensified into local details by detailed study. The process of the civic survey, itself, is an educational experience for the participating citizen, promoting local knowledge and greater awareness of the global environment. The experience is both sensual or intuitive (artistic) and rational (scientific) for the participant.

Geddes' concept of planning was more an intuitive rather than a purely rational one (Meller): "the synthetic vision to which they (scientific and philosophic) minds aspire may be reached more simply from the aesthetic and emotional side, and thus be visual and concrete."(Geddes 1915, p.321)

The significance of the synoptic view for the planner is two-fold :

First , "the kind of vision implied in the 'general view' involves thinking broadly rather than actually seeing, but Geddes characteristically phrased the ability in terms of physical sight." (Lesser, p.320) , and;

Second, "Besides making suggestions about how to bring the city to its own ideal form, the planner must use his special vision to help the citizens perceive their city." (Lesser, p.322)

Geddes likened his civic survey to the 'synoptic vision' of Aristotle, whose belief was that, "The best limit of the population of a city , then, is the largest number which suffices for the purposes of life, and can be taken in at a single view." (Aristotle in Mumford, p. 186) In Geddes' words, "Aristotle wisely insisted upon the importance of ... seeing our city with our own eyes. He urged that our view be truly

synoptic, a word which had not then become abstract, but was vividly concrete, ...a seeing of the city , and this as a whole: like Athens from its Acropolis, like city and Acropolis together - the real Athens... Large views in the abstract, Aristotle knew and thus compressedly said, depend upon large views in the concrete." (Geddes, pp. 13,15)

A plan which incorporates a comprehensive vision flowing from a synthetic understanding of the city and its regional context can become an effective tool for community education and action.

Geddes' concept of synoptic vision, too often neglected by contemporary planners, emphasises the necessity of maintaining perspective by taking a step backwards from planning detail , thus avoiding the temptation to become engrossed in the minutiae. This fixation with minutiae prevents planners from playing a more vital and useful part in the life of the city and of the region. By shunning a 'global' perspective, planners run the risk of being 'exactly wrong' rather than 'roughly right' - by failing to communicate a much-needed and intelligible synthesis of the city region's present and of its 'opening future'. It seems also that advances in science are reinforcing the relevance of this new emphasis upon holism. Today, the science of chaos has rediscovered the "futility of studying parts in isolation from the whole" - the discovery of such concepts as self-similarity across scales and universality may spell the end of reductionism. (Gleick, p. 304)

In the words of P D Goist, "The significant observation to make about the hopes and works of Patrick Geddes is not that a balanced neotechnic regionalism has failed to materialise, but that the need for a visual and socio-ecological perspective of cities is as urgent today as when he first employed his synoptic approach over fifty (now nearly eighty) years ago." (Goist, p. 35)

Chapter 3

Place

3.0 INTRODUCTION

This Chapter examines the first part of the Place- Work-Folk identity of Le Play and adopted by Patrick Geddes. In Part 1, a global overview is provided. This overview focusses upon the natural environment. In looking at the natural environment within a global perspective, two major contemporary issues are considered: global warming and loss of biological diversity.

In Part 2, the Hobart Metropolitan Region is examined. The spatial elements of the Hobart Region are considered. The Chapter begins with the regional landscape. The two major geographical features within the region are then dealt with in greater depth - the Derwent Estuary and Mount Wellington. Finally, the region's exploding urban macroform and its consequences are examined.

PART 1 - PLACE - A GLOBAL OVERVIEW

3.1 NATURAL ENVIRONMENT

For millions and millions of years, planet Earth was a self-regulating planet in dynamic equilibrium. However, since the industrial revolution, the hand of humanity has, knowingly and unknowingly, severely disrupted this equilibrium. The world is now under unprecedented threat from this ever-intensifying human impact. This impact is felt on the Earth's stocks and flows as:

- ecological capital is squandered at a rate which greatly exceeds the planet's capability to replace it, and
- natural processes are disrupted.

These adverse impacts are manifold: land degradation, pollution of air and water, deforestation, loss of bio diversity

and resource depletion. They undermine human welfare and threaten our continued viability as a species, not to mention their diabolical consequences for non-human species.

"From space, we see a small and fragile ball dominated not by human activity and edifice but by a pattern of clouds, oceans, greenery, and soils. Humanity's inability to fit its doings into that pattern is changing planetary systems fundamentally. Many such changes are accompanied by life-threatening hazards. This new reality , from which there is no escape, must be recognised - and managed". (WCED 1987, p.1)

Two major global environmental problems are selected here for more detailed examination These are:

1. Loss of biodiversity because it is the consequence of other forms of environmental degradation - pollution of land, air and water, habitat loss or degradation, and

2. Climate change because it is an example of the way in which environmental problems result in degradation of global commons regardless of source.

These problems have also been selected because of their relevance to the Hobart Metropolitan Region.

3.1.1 Global Warming

The detection of global warming as the result of an enhanced greenhouse effect will require a "fundamentally different approach to the use of energy". (Lowe)

The Greenhouse Effect , occurs as the result of so called 'Greenhouse Gases' in the upper atmosphere, of which about 57 per cent is caused by Carbon Dioxide(CO_2) (WCED 1990, p. 48). These greenhouse gases absorb some frequencies of solar radiation, thus preventing its escape from the

biosphere. This effect is a natural one, resulting in part from the decomposition of plant and animal matter and animal respiration. The problem is that the level of CO2 in the upper atmosphere has increased significantly since the beginning of the Industrial Revolution, apparently as a result of the burning of fossil fuels. This human augmentation of the greenhouse effect has resulted in detectable increases in global temperature as warming of the lower atmosphere has occurred.

If unchecked, the enhanced greenhouse effect could result in global average temperature increases of a predicted 0.3° per decade, causing changes in the global water cycle which might result in a sea level rise of 6 centimetres per decade (mostly due to the thermal expansion of water). (Inter-Governmental Panel on Climate Change quoted in Lowe) A worst case scenario would be the melting of the polar ice caps (which contain 95 per cent of the world's fresh water) causing dramatic sea level rise and increasing the temperature still further through a reduction in the albedo effect (the reflectivity of the Earth's surface). (National Greenhouse Advisory Committee, WCED 1990, Myers)

Whislt unequivocal detection of the enhanced greenhouse effect from observations is not likely for a decade or more (National Greenhouse Advisory Committee) the precautionary principle suggests that action should be taken now to avoid the necessity for more severe reductions at a later date.

The results could be catastrophic - with major changes in climatic patterns affecting the world's major food growing areas and inundation of low-lying land, including major population areas such as Bangladesh and Florida, USA.

The solution lies in greenhouse gas reductions, primarily through cuts to the burning of fossil fuels, such as coal for

electricity generation and industrial processes, and petrol for motor vehicles. (The transport sector uses 40 per cent of fossil fuels). (WCED 1990, p. 48)

The seriousness of the problem has been recognised worldwide, with over 150 countries signing the United Nations Framework on Climate Change, with Australia's interim target being "to stabilise greenhouse gas emissions based on the 1988 levels, by the year 2000 and to reduce these emissions by 20 per cent by the year 2005 ....." (Loder & Bayley, p.2) Yet, Australia has failed to fully commit itself to these targets by applying an escape clause where the measures might be detrimental to its competitive position in the global economy.

3.1.2 Loss of Biological Diversity

Since the advent of the Industrial Age, the degree of human impact upon ecosystems has spiralled upwards. The consequent loss of species and the reduction in the gene pool within species which is occurring through extinction , loss of habitat and deliberate development of monocultures (for example, in agriculture) is threatening the viability of the process of natural selection upon which evolution depends. Given the complex interdependence of natural systems, 'the web of life', the effects of loss of biodiversity are inestimable. If humanity continues upon the same 'development' path, it may rob the planet of millions of potential species to the great detriment of itself and of other forms of life within the biosphere .

"The human population has reached almost five billion people by, in essence, "burning its capital" - destroying and dispersing a one-time bonanza of fossil fuels, minerals, deep soils, water, and biological diversity. It is the loss of biological diversity that may prove the most serious; certainly it is the most irreversible. Homo sapiens depends on the genetic variety present in the many millions of species

and billions of their populations for a huge range of services, many of them absolutely essential to the support of civilisation.

"We are causing some loss of genetic diversity directly, by wiping out or severely over-harvesting certain species and populations... But the major danger comes indirectly from habitat destruction. Humanity is paving over, ploughing under, chopping down, damming, poisoning, and otherwise ruining habitats at a truly horrifying rate." (Paul Ehrlich in Myers, p.138)

As a result of human activity, "about 70 species become extinct every day." (Birch, p. 104) Even a reduction in populations of species not threatened with extinction represents a potential loss of genetic diversity.

Whilst the most dramatic habitat loss may be occurring through deafforestation in developing countries - for example the clearing of huge areas of biologically rich rainforest in the world's tropics, significant losses are occurring closer to home as a result of urbanisation.

"Australia has one of the worst records of loss of species in the world. Many species have become extinct in Australia as a direct result of European settlement. Of these, 97 species of vascular plants are extinct with over 3000 threatened today. Also extinct are 10 species of birds and 20 species of mammals. ... On the endangered list are 11 birds, 26 mammals (about half those that are left), 6 reptiles, 7 fish and many other animals " (Birch, p. 104)

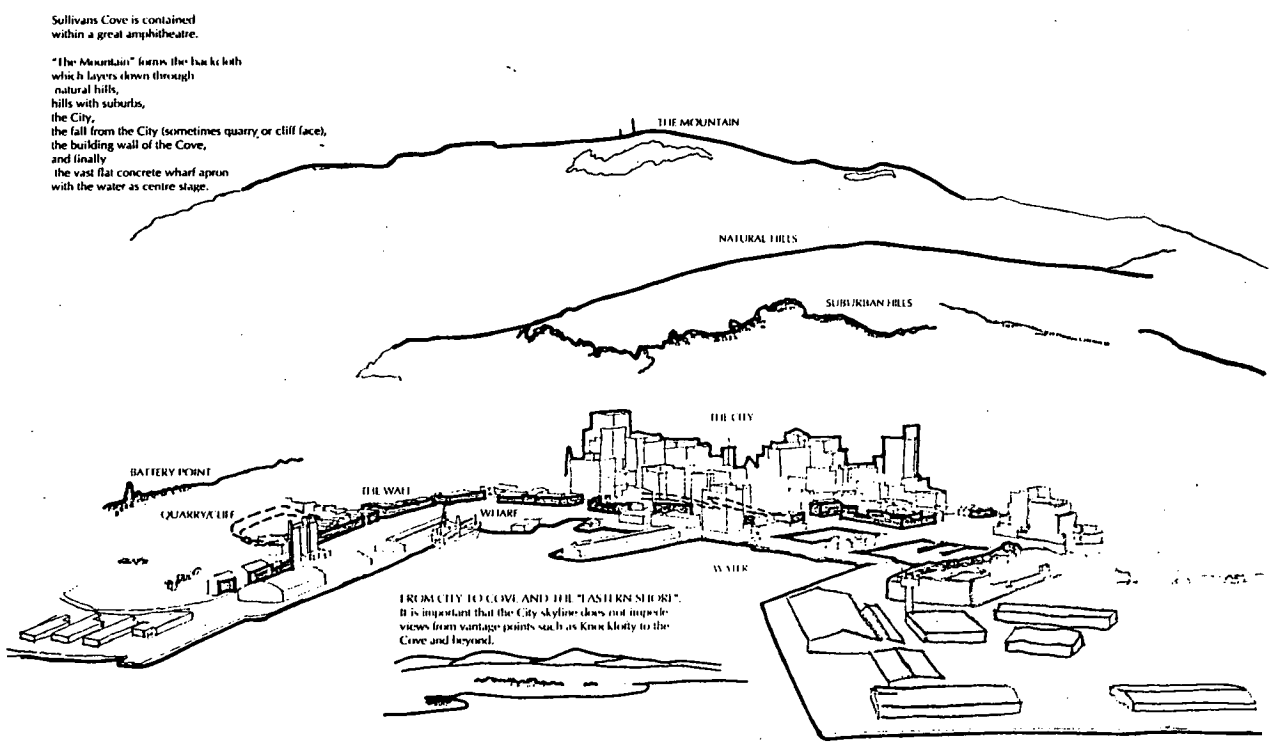
The tragedy of this situation is that recognition of the problem is not being translated into action at regional and local level.

PART 2 - PLACE - A REGIONAL PERSPECTIVE

3.3 REGIONAL LANDSCAPE

Laid out "By Mountain and Sea" as the chocolate advertisement used to proclaim, the Hobart region possesses one of the finest and most powerful natural settings anywhere in the world.The Sullivan's Cove Planning Review (1991) describes the backdrop to the City as a natural amphitheatre. This amphitheatre is extended by 'wings' which stretch some twenty or so kilometres to north and south.

FIGURE 3.1 - HOBART'S NATURAL AMPHITHEATRE



Source: Sullivans Cove Development Authority, p. 26

Hobart is a linear city which straddles the estuary of the River Derwent, a drowned river valley. Development has historically taken place on the narrow band of relatively flat land which lies on both sides of the River. From the urban limits, the predominantly forested foothills of Mount Wellington rise steeply , with Mount Wellington crowning the City's Western Shore.

The Wellington Range and the Derwent Estuary are the two most powerful landscape features in the region. Next to this shore of the Derwent, the light bushland of the Queens Domain provides the urban area with a light bushland area at close proximity. Other significant features on that Shore, are the Tinderbox Hills, Bonnet Hill and Mount Nelson to the south (distinguished as the only part of the City where development has occurred over the majority of the hillface) and Mount Faulkner to the North. A number of foothills such as Knocklofty,Mount Stuart and Chimneypot Hill lie between Mount Wellington. While not as prominent in a regional sense, these features form an important backdrop to the City.

On the Eastern Shore, the southernmost dominant landscape feature is the South Arm Peninsula. The Meehan Range forms the landscape spine of the Eastern Shore, running a distance of nearly thirty kilometres from just North of Lauderdale to Bridgewater. Closer to the River, the denuded Droughty Hill and Rokeby Hills are distinctive features.

A number of individual hills form the backdrop to the City of Clarence, including Mornington Hill, Natone Hill and the Government Hills. However, the most prominent individual features on this side of the River are the imposing Mount Direction, Gunner's Quoin (in the Meehan Range) and Mount Dromedary. To the North, the land flattens out as the valleys of the Jordan River and Bagdad Rivulets are reached.

Running roughly parallel to the Meehan Range to its north east is the Coal River Valley which runs into Pittwater. A number of isolated hills rise from the valley floor creating quite a powerful setting. The 'boom gate' to Pittwater is provided by the sand spit at Seven Mile Beach.

Figures 3.2 to 3.8 illustrate parts of this regional landscape from various vantage points within the region.

FIGURE 3.2

HOBART from ROSNY HILL

- Development has occurred on the apron of forested Wellington Range foothills, extending from the shore of the Derwent River to existing servicing limits.

- Even when obscured by cloud, Mount Wellington and the Derwent River are clearly the two most prominent landscape features.

- Residential development appears to curve off the spur lines as the gullies have been left vegetated. (1)(2)

- Some evidence of scars from subdivision occurring at the limits of existing development.(3)(4)(5)

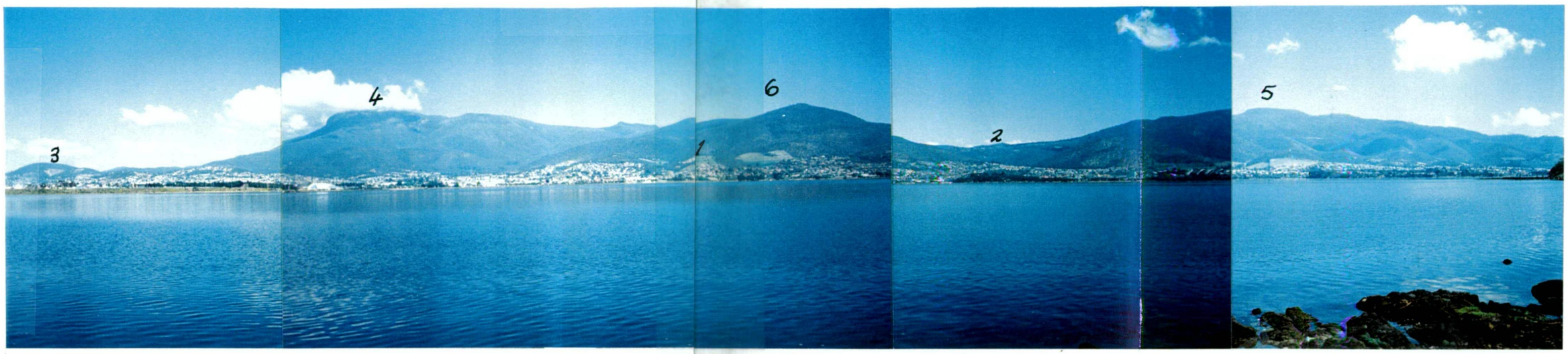
- Mount Nelson is the only example to date of development extending to the skyline. Large lots ensure that houses blend into the hill face much more than other more recent development.(6)(7)

- Queens Domain in the foreground is a significant landscape element and an important urban bushland resource.(8)

- The relief flattens to the north, with Mount Hull and Mount Faulkner forming the backdrop to the northern suburbs.(9)(10)

FIGURE 3.3

GLENORCHY from OTAGO



- Development has generally occurred to a lower level tha in the Sandy Bay/Mount Nelson area - a reflection of larger areas of ailable flat land and generally lower land prices.

- Evidence of past agricultural land use , on the lower slop (1) and at Glenlusk (2) - now largely a commuter area.

- Quarrying scar evident at Lenah Valley. (3)

- Mount Wellington(4), Mount Faulkner (5), Mount Hull d the Goat Hills (6) dominate the skyline.

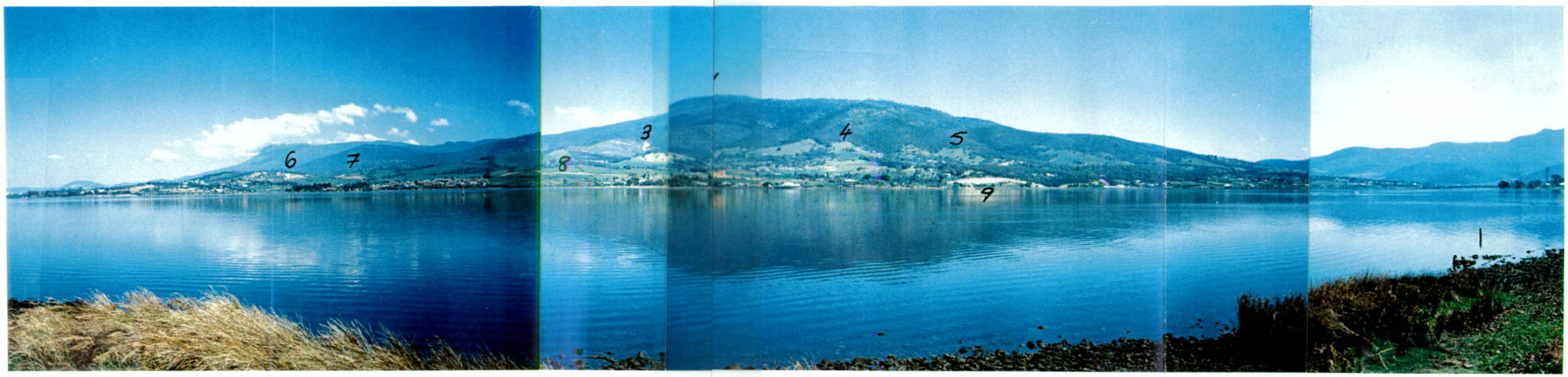
FIGURE 3.4

EASTERN SHORE from MOUNT NELSON

- Generally lower relief than the Western Shore.
- Residential development greatest in the vicinity of the Tasman Bridge.(1)
- General landscape character is of a wooded skyline, with a band of residential development, diminishing in width as the denuded hills of Droughty Point are reached.(2)
- The largely wooded slopes of Mount Direction (3),Gunns Quoin (4) and the Government Hills (5) shrouded in mist.
- Behind Drought Point, the cleared area of the Clarence Plains (6) and the Meehan Range (7) are apparent, as is Lauderdale.(8)

FIGURE 3.5

GRANTON from BRIDGEWATER



- Mount Faulkner (1) is the dominant landscape element. Its wooded slopes are thinned in places by bushfire and there is scarring from the trails (2) and tunnel erosion.(3)

- Past clearing for agriculture has created a "sawtooth" effect along the boundary between developed and undeveloped land. (45)

- Fringe suburban residential development advances over Ten Mile Hill.(6)

- Road cuttings for the Northern Outlet are prominent scars.(7)(8)(9)

FIGURE 3.6

SOUTHERN SUBURBS from OPOSUM BAY

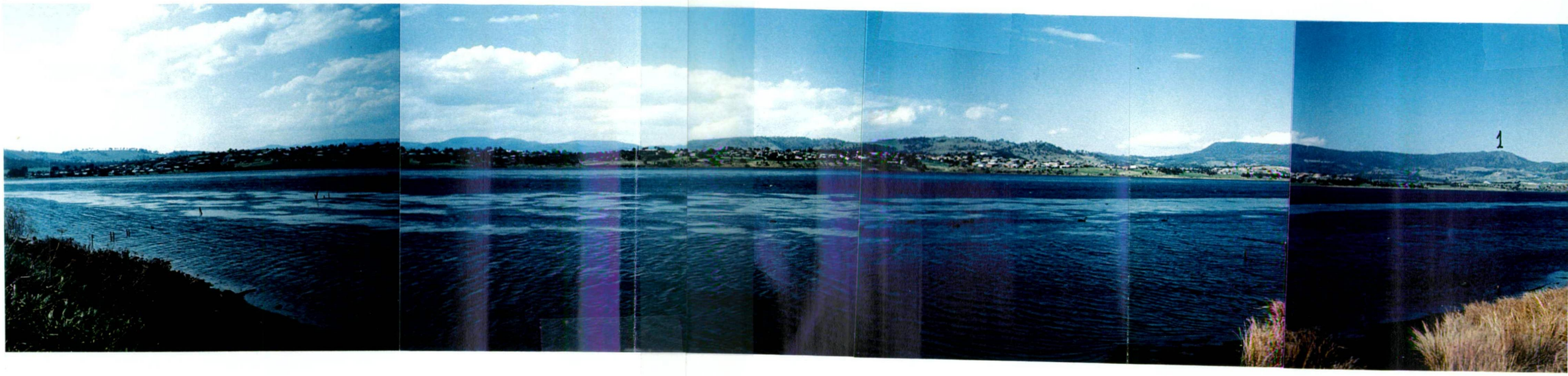
- Tinderbox (1) and Bonnet Hill (2) characterised by wood areas interspersed with patches of clearing as a result of largely defunct agultural land use.

- Development at Kingston (3) and Blackmans Bay (4) hall but "scalped" Boronia Hill of vegetation from this perspective (5).

- Mount Wellington (6) and Mount Montagu / CathedrRock (7) dominate the silhouette.

FIGURE 3.7

BRIDGEWATER from GRANTON

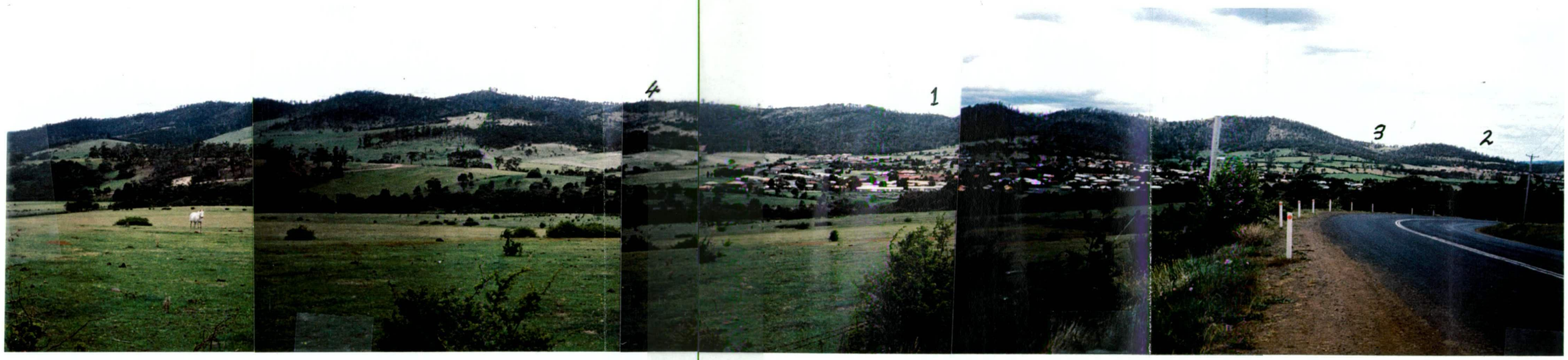


- Gunners Quoin (1) forms part of the Northern end of the Meehan Range which extends north south for over 30 kilometres from Derby to Brighton.

- Residential development interspersed with ample plant blends easiliy into the landscape.

FIGURE 3.8

CLARENDON VALE from ROKEBY ROAD



- The former agricultural area of Clarence Plains now converted to public housing estate.(1)
- Private residential subdivision follows the precedent set by public policy.(2)
- Evidence of patchy clearing along the southern end of the Meehan Range which forms the backdrop to the suburb.(3)(4)

3.3.1 Why is regional landscape protection important?

Jackson identifies the topographic setting of the majority of Australian capital cities as their key distinguishing factor: "that special disposition of land and water, contour and connection that comprised their originating new world establishment." It is difficult not to agree with him when he criticises "this generation of Australians, including planners and designers at all levels, killing off the city ... through a myopic speculative culture that, at best, smacks of a mindless lack of vision, or at worst, of a devil may care economic philistinism." To date "it has been impossible to destroy the geographic combinations of the best of them : Sydney, Melbourne and Hobart. But God knows we have tried hard enough in the past 40 years." (Jackson, pp. 1, 4 & 5)

As the Hobart region has developed, and settled areas in flatter areas have been taken up (admittedly at low densities), residential development has marched further and further up the hillsides. Despite the flight to outlying areas in more recent times, an estimated two thirds of the regional population still lives in the immediate visual catchment of the urban portions of the Cities of Hobart, Clarence and Glenorchy.

Given the strength of the regional setting, the impact of this incremental development is relatively limited . However, more localised landscape impacts - particularly near to the City are significant because of the concentration of population, employment and tourism in its vicinity.

Recent examples of such impacts include the Landsat Earth Station on Droughty Hill, the development of a new communications tower on Mount Wellington and the clearing and cut and fill works involved with the creation of new subdivisions at Sandy Bay, Dynnyrne and West Hobart.

FIGURE 3.8 - SUBDIVISIONAL WORKS AT TOLMANS HILL IMPACT UPON THE REGIONAL SKYLINE

Photo: Author

It is not only the location of this development which is of critical importance, but also its scale, form and colour. Residential developments in these new areas tend to be isolated monuments to hubris rather than genuine efforts to build within a landscape. Because of the expense of the land and its steepness, lot coverage is maximised. Numerous 'follies' such as castles and 'toilet blocks' (because of their stark white colour and box-like form) have begun to appear on the fringe slopes of Sandy Bay and Dynnyrne. Tree clearing and excavation works have also eaten into the skyline of the Eastern Shore.

FIGURE 3.8 - THE HIGHER THE HOUSE, THE GREATER ITS OSTENTATION

Photo: Author

FIGURE 3.9 - DEVELOPMENT IN THE VICINITY OF WAVERLEY FLORA PARK SHOWS SCANT REGARD FOR ITS CONTEXT

Photos: Author

The Southern Metropolitan Planning Authority, in its Metropolitan Strategic Planning Policy Manual (April 1982) measures to protect skyline areas were discussed: "In addition to planning provisions ..., preservation is often achieved through natural constraints on buildings, services supply, and adverse exposure to the weather. This is the case in Hobart. Natural skylines and major mountains and hills of the Derwent Valley have been preserved. However, lower altitude ridgelines and ridgelines perpendicular to the main Derwent Valley have been lost to development over the years and quite recently in some cases. This calls for common opinion on which skylines can and need to be protected, the extent protection should extend down the slopes of the hills and the best way the preservation should be managed." (SMPA, p. 64)

The determination of this common opinion is, inherently, a subjective matter. Urquhart identifies a number of problems with landscape assessment. These are:

"The complexity of landscape which makes the assessment of their qualities all the more difficult than, for instance, a single building.
The relative merits of different valuation methods and the merits or limits of qualitative methods as compared with qualitative methods.
The degree of objectivity which can be perceived when measuring what is essentially a subjectively-preceived quality.
The potential influence of the observer's background, knowledge, familiarity with the area etc
The changing aesthetic tastes of the community.
The dynamic nature of landscapes.
The comparability of different techniques.
The practicability and potential expense of different techniques." (Urquhart, p. 21)

The Southern Metropolitan Planning Authority identified a number of important landscape features within the City which were in need of statutory planning protection. Many of these features have now received this attention. However, if economic pressures are to be resisted, there needs to be a groundswell of public opinion behind the protection of the Hobart region's landscape features. Despite its subjectiveness, this issue is worthy of re-examination in light of the region's ageing population, the long term decline in fossil fuel stocks and the relative energy inefficiency involved with gaining access to steep slopes in comparison to flatter areas.

Despite its difficulty, the need for an assessment of Hobart's regional landscape is critical if the incremental erosion of the unique regional landscape character is to be stemmed. Protection of the regional landscape has a tangibility which other planning issues lack. The development of regional landscape protection measures, similar to Adelaide's Hills Face Zone, could be a first step towards regional environmental awareness

3.4 THE DERWENT ESTUARY

3.4.1 Introduction

The Derwent River is the third longest river in Tasmania, flowing for 182 kilometres from its source at Lake St Clair to the estuary mouth which opens onto Storm Bay and the D'Entrecasteaux Channel. The river varies in width from less than one hundred metres at New Norfolk to about a kilometre in the vicinity of Hobart to about 6 kilometres at its mouth. There are also two distinct parts to the estuary. The average depth of the upper estuary as far south as Dogshear (Cadburys) Point is 4 metres. Below that point the river deepens to an average depth of 11 metres.(Chapman)

As yet, the dynamics of the River are poorly understood. However, the CSIRO is currently developing a comprehensive scientific model at present in an effort to better predict its capacity to assimilate the impacts of the human settlement along its banks. What is known about the River is that the saline water from the mouth of the estuary forms a wedge which flows up river. The toe of that wedge [which lies between Bridgewater Causeway and New Norfolk depending on freshwater flow) (Chapman) encounters a stream of fresh water flowing down river from its source. When the two flows meet, the denser saline water is forced below the fresh water. The implication of this is that the level at which effluent enters the River is critical. If effluent enters the saline stream, it is likely to flow up river towards New Norfolk, rather than down river. (Derwent Estuary Advisory Group)

The second flow characteristic of the river is that the motion of the earth results in the concentration of the down river current along the Eastern Shore side of the River. Both of these flow characteristics have obvious implications for the way in which discharges to the river occur.(Derwent Estuary Advisory Group)

3.4.2 Pollution

Chapman (1992) examined the pollution problem in the Derwent and concluded that the Derwent, like many estuaries the world over, has been poorly treated by local people to the point that Bloom and Ayling (1977) state that "The Derwent ranks with the most polluted waterways in the world." (Chapman, p. 15)

The Derwent River has acted as a sink for the receipt of the liquid wastes of the City since European settlement. Initially, this occurred through a concentration of residential and industrial uses along the Hobart Rivulet resulting in the

marshy land in the vicinity of Wapping becoming notorious for public health problems.

Electrification in the early years of the twentieth century led to the relocation of industrial uses to Hobart's Northern suburbs and beyond. Major industries located at East Risdon (Pasminco EZ, zinc refining, 1916), Claremont (Cadbury Schweppes, confectionary, 1921) and Boyer(ANM, newsprint production, 1941) have been the cause of many of the River's pollution problems, as have raw or partly treated sewage and urban runoff.(Chapman)."

The main pollutants known to be entering the estuary are heavy metals..., treated and untreated sewage effluent, food wastes (and) by-products of food wastes... It is known that these pollutants have affected water quality, especially in the upper estuary and shallow bays. They have also affected the aquatic biota and diminished the recreational and commercial use of the estuary and have contributed to long term environmental degradation." (Chapman, pp. 36-7).

FIGURE 3.10 - POLLUTION THREATENS THE INTRINSIC VALUES OF THE RIVER AND ITS VALUE AS A MULTIPLE USE RESOURCE

Photo: Author

The impacts of this environmental degradation are uneven. "The impact of urban development appears to be less in the lower part of the estuary. ..The larger proportion of bays within the middle estuarine area of the river are severely degraded either by sewage, heavy metal pollution or both." (Chapman, p. 15) The pollution of the river is at its worst between the Bowen Bridge and Cadburys. (Derwent River Advisory Group)

Problems in the Derwent have received increasing public attention in the last two decades. Heavy metals in shellfish from Ralphs Bay resulted in a food poisoning episode in the early 1970s. The Tasman Bridge Disaster (1975) saw the sinking of the fully-laden ore carrier, Lake Illawarra with the potential for heavy metals to leach into the river system.

In the mid 1980s the closure of many popular swimming beaches highlighted the dangers to primary contact water users resulting from inadequate sewage treatment. In 1988, a flood event resulted in rafts of vile-smelling wood fibre dislodged from the vicinity of Boyer to cause amenity problems for riverside reisidents as far down as the middle reaches of the estuary. These tangible events galvanised public concern. A 'Friends of the Derwent' group was formed and the first "Derwent River Clean-up Day was held in 1988 (Chapman).

However, Chapman also pointed to a level of apathy, as the public, conditioned by many years of incremental environmental deterioration in the state of the estuary, treats its continued decline as an inevitability.

3.4.3 Sewage Treatment

Reticulated sewage systems have developed since the early years of the century, with the result that effluent treated to various degrees is pumped into the River. In 1977, only 9 out of 19 sewage treatment facilities treated sewage to

secondary level. There were also some direct discharges, including industrial discharges. (Derwent Estuary Advisory Group)

This has resulted in problems for water users. As a consequence, the Department of Environment carried out a sampling program from various points in the River from 1987 onwards. By October 1989, it was found that "all sample sites between Elwick Bay and Nutgrove-Howrah" fail the criteria for primary contact recommended by the National Health and Medical Research Council." (W Jones in Garland, p. 18)

With the State government's decision to phase out environmental exemptions, all plants had been upgraded to secondary treatment with disinfection by June 1994,(apart from the Sandy Bay plant which still operates purely through maceration.) at an estimated cost of over 40 million dollars. (Chapman, p. 59, Derwent Estuary Advisory Group)

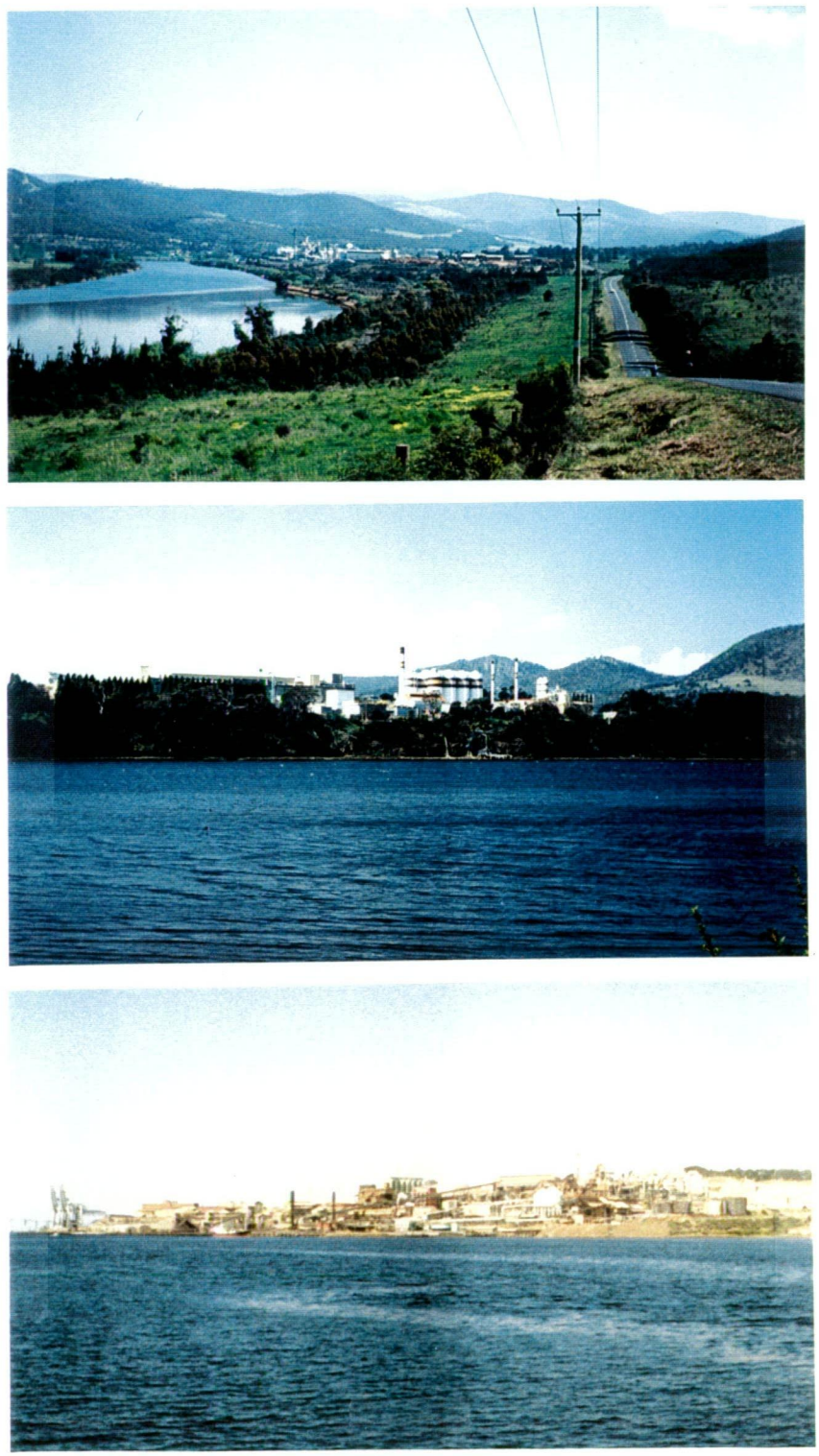
3.4.4 Industrial Wastes

In recent years, the major industries on the Derwent, who have been responsible for the bulk of its identifiable environmental degradation have been pressured by changes in public opinion and the threat of withdrawal of State government environmental exemptions to improve their environmental performance.

Pasminco EZ has been responsible for severe heavy metal contamination of the estuary - with some of the highest recorded levels of zinc and cadmium anywhere in the world. (Chapman). It has developed new processes to cut its mercury and zinc losses to the river, and is aiming to introduce secondary treatment of their effluent by 1998. (Derwent Estuary Advisory Group) However, the company is still dumping jarosite waste at the edge of the continental shelf in violation of Australia's international treaty

obligations (with the acquiescence of State and Federal governments).

FIGURE 3.11 INDUSTRY HAS BEEN RESPONSIBLE FOR MAJOR POLLUTION PROBLEMS IN THE DERWENT



Photos: Author

ANM Boyer has been responsible for severe degradation of the upper reaches of the estuary. The huge biological oxygen demand of its effluent has in the past resulted in the total devastation of marine habitat. Other problems such as sulphide odours and the Derwent wood fibre 'sludge' - "Four million tonnes of stinking gelatinous sludge extending downstream of the mill from Bridgewater to the Bowen Bridge close to areas of urban development." (Chapman, p. 23)

Primary effluent treatment now removes 85 to 90 per cent of the wood fibre and the amount of effluent discharged to the river has been reduced through improved technology. A chlorine plant has been decommissioned, eliminating mercury discharges to the river. (Derwent Estuary Advisory Group)

Cadbury Schweppes until recently discharged untreated food wastes into the Derwent River. Following long negotiations with the Glenorchy City Council, the company began discharging partly-treated waste to that Council's Cameron Bay sewage treatment plant in 1989. (Derwent Estuary Advisory Group)

3.4.5 Urban Runoff

Research into the effects of runoff on the estuary has been limited. However, Chapman quotes a study by Wood of Lindisfarne Bay which indicates considerable sedimentation arising from urban runoff. This was found to be due to a number of factors, with the chief causes being clearing of land for agriculture and urban development.

The pollutants from runoff are generally considered to be similar to sanitary wastes. "It has been estimated that runoff from Hobart Rivulet catchment was equivalent to the effluent from a medium sized sewage treatment plant." (Chapman, p. 76)

Chapman also points to work by Thorp (1981) which emphasises the importance of protecting bays such as Sandy Bay, Kangaroo Bay and Lindisfarne bay as fish breeding grounds.

Fizgerald counted 369 effluent outlets between Bridgewater and Howrah Point/Blinking Billy Point. There are now many more. (Chapman, p.77)

A study into nutrient levels in the river, the Derwent Estuary Nutrient Program, is currently underway, with results to be published in November 1994. The study will look at nutrient levels in the river, resulting from many sources, including runoff from urban and rural streams. Preliminary indications are that the potential for algal bloom development in the Derwent is small for most of the year because of low light penetration and cold water temperatures.

3.4.6 Multiple Use of the Estuary

Hepper (1985) conducted the first regional review of the Derwent River and its foreshore in 1985 and identified its multiple use value: "The Derwent River is a valuable community asset with a range of multiple use values. These uses include port and shipping, landscape/visual, recreation, environmental, commercial, cultural, communication/transport, water supply, power generation and the dumping of wastes." (Hepper, p. 2)

Hepper saw the major challenge to be "to manage the river and its foreshore as part of one interrelated system. The aim should be to achieve a systematic and co-ordinated approach to management and development, which takes cognizance of natural processes and resource characteristics, as well as human uses and needs." (Hepper, p. 1)

The Plan was seen only as "the first step towards preparing a total management strategy to protect and utilise the multiple use values of the Derwent River and its foreshore in perpetuity." (Hepper, p.1) This management strategy would:

- set goals to guide future planning and development
- provide a consultative framework to ensure co-ordination, co-operation, participation and the rational use of resources.
- include a land and activity management strategy to promote proper use of the river and its foreshore.
- incorporate an environment strategy to protect and conserve the inherent qualities of the river and the foreshore. (Hepper, p.4)

Hepper's study found a lack of co-ordination and integration between the various organisations charged with the various responsibility for the estuary's management. The Management Plan also made about 400 recommendations into improvements to the foreshore, including the identification of 25 major sites for enhancement projects. The river edge is a highly underutilised resource with potential for appropriate development of it to considerably benefit the region's residents and visitors alike.

3.4.7 Conclusion

Both Hepper and Chapman recommend improved management arrangements to simplify the plethora of interests associated with the estuary. Another shared recommendation involves the need to develop a much better baseline understanding of the river, its hydrology, its biota and its capacity to assimilate the impacts of the urban settlement along its shores. The need for the community to set goals and standards for the future management of the

river is also identified by both commentators. However Chapman questions an attitude to the River which accepts its continued use as a sink for the City's wastes.

Recent evidence suggests that presence of heavy metals in the water column of the Derwent is now reduced. However, considerable heavy metal and wood fibre deposits still lie on the river bed. There is no certainty about the likely persistance of these substances in the environment, their effect upon the biota, or the likelihood of their future activation into the water column. (Chapman, Derwent Estuary Advisory Group)

3.5 MOUNT WELLINGTON

The 1270 metre dolerite massif, Mount Wellington and its associated range towers over the City of Hobart providing an imposing backdrop to Hobart. The Mountain is host to a large number of unique endemic species of alpine flora. Many species were lost as a result of the intense bushfires which swept across the face of the Mountain and its foothills in 1967.

Phair (1993) studied land use change and development on the Mountain.

Over its history, the Mountain has been subject to a variety of land uses from the exploitation of its timber, soil and water resources to its present day use for nature study, recreational use and tourism. Today, it is the largest area of public land in the Hobart region. It is a popular tourist destination, consistently ranking in the top four places visited within the State.

Access to the lower slopes began with the construction of Huon Road in 1869 which allowed development at Fern Tree.

This was followed by the construction of Pillinger Drive in 1880. The first major non-infrastructural development occurred with the construction of an hotel at the Springs in 1907. The Springs Hotel was never really profitable and was destroyed during the 1967 bushfires. The Pinnacle Road was constructed during the Great Depression between 1934 and 1937, as a labour creation project employing thousands of unemployed men.

Since the late 1950s, the Mountain has become the host to communications facilities for both public and private television broadcasting. A new broadcasting tower is currently under construction by the Federal Department of Transport and Communications

Land tenure on the Mountain involves a mixture of freehold land, with the Hobart City Council as the major owner. Other major owners include the Glenorchy City Council and the Cascade Brewery Company.

Partly in response to public pressure to halt the visual impact of logging on its slopes, the Mountain was declared a public park in 1906 and was administered by the Hobart City Council Mountain Park Committee. In recent times, a number of reports have been prepared into the management of the Mountain and the assessment of any associated development proposals.

The Wellington Range Management Plan(1981) was the first comprehensive attempt to explore the management of the range. It sought to recommend an appropriate management structure and a process for assessment of development. The Plan recognised the Range as a multiple use resource, and sought to protect the Range's natural, communications, water supply, tourism, landscape and recreation values.

The Wellington Range Public Consultation(1991) provided the consultation phase which had not occurred at the time of preparation of the Management Plan and involved Councils, State Government Departments and the Hobart Regional Water Board.

The Wellington Range Working Group Report(1991) canvassed options for the preferred status of the Range and provided for a co-ordinated management regime.

The Mountain Park Resource Inventory (1993), undertaken by consultants on behalf of the Hobart City Council, sought to provide a comprehensive inventory of the Park's resources to assist with future management and planning. The Inventory recommended the development of a Master Plan and a Management Plan for the Park.

In 1993, the Wellington Park Act was enacted, which provided for new planning and administrative arrangements for the assessment of development on the Mountain. The Act set the Park aside as a reserve and established a co-ordinated management authority, the Wellington Park Management Trust, with representation from Hobart and Glenorchy City Councils and the various government agencies with management responsibilities within the Wellington Park. The Trust is responsible for the management of the Park and the provision of development assessment advice to the Minister for Environment and Land Management. Section 5 of the Wellington Park Act sets the Park aside for the following purposes:

- recreation and tourism uses and uses consistent with:
- preservation or protection of flora and fauna and places of natural beauty and scenic interest.
- protection of features of historic, Aboriginal, archeological , scientific, architectural or geological interest.

- protection of water catchment values.

The most recent controversy surrounding the Mountain involves the proposed construction of a restaurant, cable car and ski field on the Mountain. This follows previous proposals for an aerial tramway in 1905, a Gondola Ropeway in 1970 and 1979, a cable car in 1984 and an hotel, restaurant, ski field and cable car in 1987.

The current cable car proposal has highlighted the polarisation of different groups within the Hobart community. This polarisation appears symptomatic of the philosophical divide between those with an anthropocentric outlook and those with an ecocentric one. Arguments for increased accessibility to the Mountain and longer visitor stays are contrasted with those supporting the Mountains intrinsic values and the place of the Mountain within the context of a sustainable city.

The Wellington Park Trust has required an exhaustive assessment process. The outcome will test the robustness of the planning process to withstand community division.

3.5.1 Conclusion

Mount Wellington, like the River Derwent is a major regional asset in environmental and multiple use terms. Like the River, its size ; and the sheer number of groups with an interest in its management have brought to light problems with designing a regional planning process which can resolve conflict and protect the long term value of the resource.

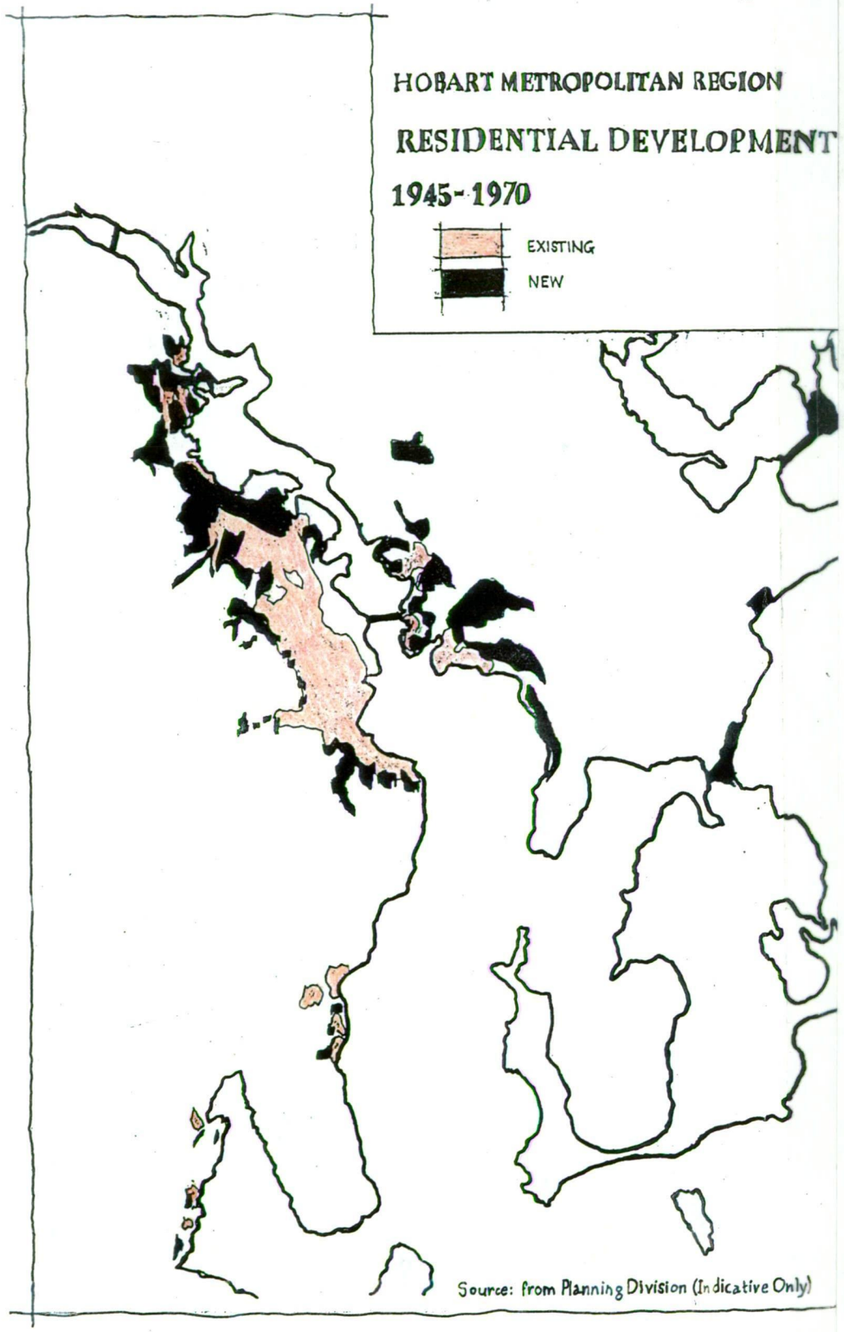
3.6 URBAN FORM

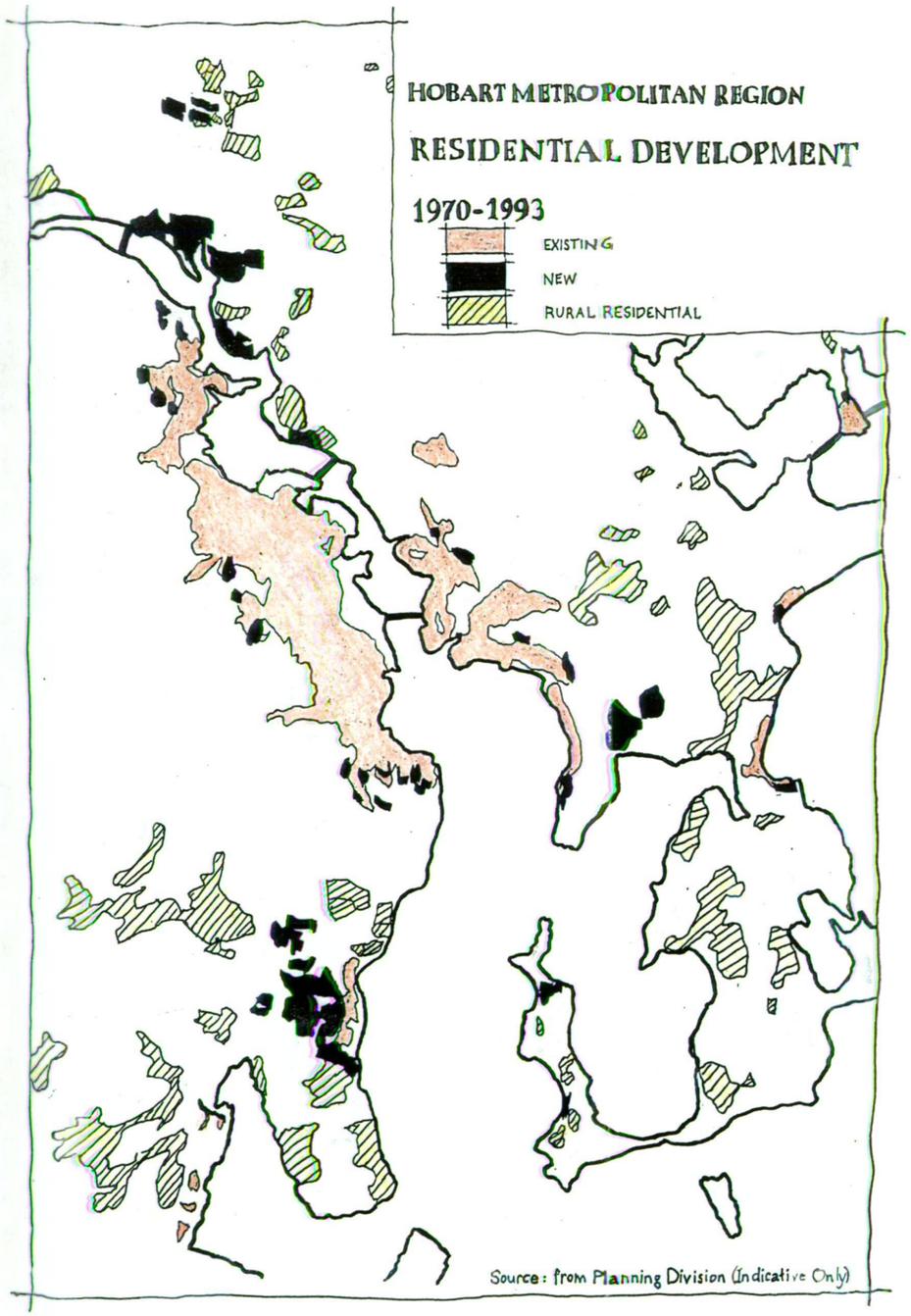
3.6.1 Population Dispersion

The Hobart metropolitan region has undergone a population explosion in the last quarter of a century- not in terms of magnitude but rather, of spatial distribution. In the twenty

years from 1971 to 1991, the population of the Greater Hobart Statistical Division increased from nearly 154 000 people to nearly 182 000 - a simple percentage increase of less than one per cent per annum. However, during that period, major shifts in the distribution of population occurred.

MAP 3.1 - THE EXPLOSIONOF THE REGION





The traditional population centres of Hobart and Glenorchy, held 62 per cent of Statistical Division's population at the time of the 1971 Census. However, by 1991, their share of the regional population had fallen to 49 per cent. Population fell in absolute and relative terms: the population of the two municipal areas fell by nearly 6,000 people in this period.

On the other hand, the fringe municipalities of Kingborough, Brighton and Sorell increased their combined share of the population during the same period by from 8.9 per cent to 21.9 per cent. In absolute terms, this amounted to a population increase of 26 120 people, representing some 90 per cent of the net regional population increase during that period.

3.6.2 The Determinants of Regional Dispersion

This diaspora has been fuelled by many factors working in concert. These include:

Topography

The region's topography is the first major determinant of Hobart's urban form. The width of the Derwent River and the steepness of the valley slopes,the Wellington Range foothills, has meant that Hobart has developed as a linear city with development confined until recently to the banks of the Derwent.

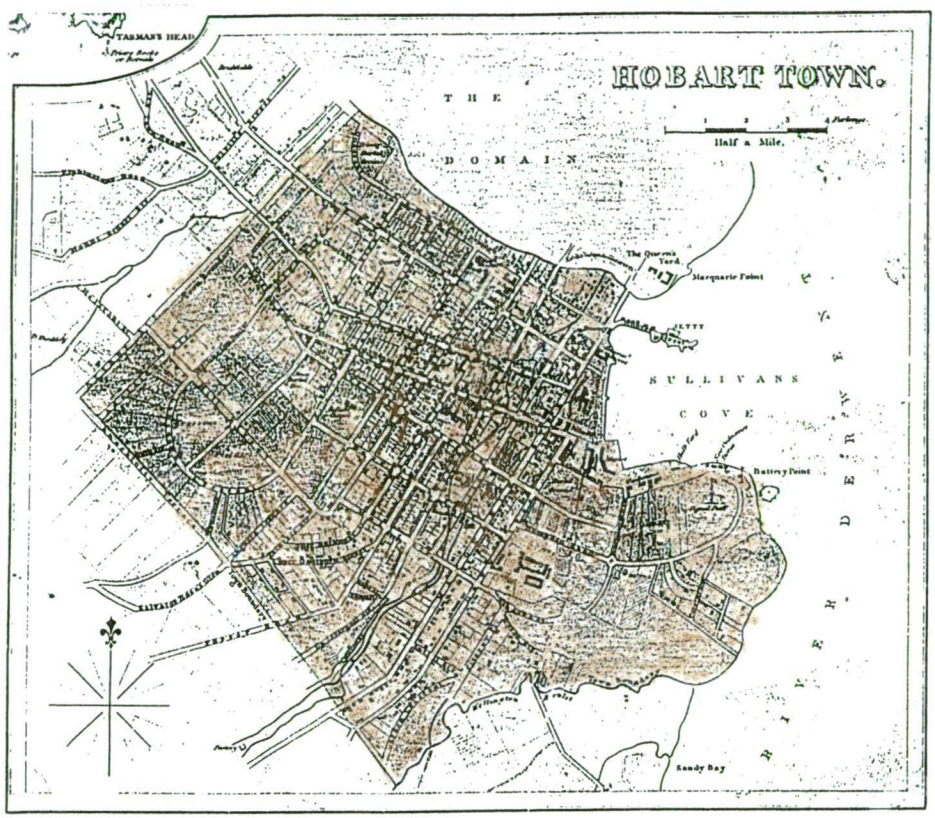
Accessibility

Accessibility has played a major role in the region's urban form. The city has developed along the lines of cities in other places, from a compact pedestrian city. Clark suggests that urban Hobart had not spread much beyond one square mile by the 1880s. (See Map 3.2 overleaf)

With the advent of local train, and tram services in the 1880s and '90s respectively, suburban development began to occur. Since the end of the Second World War, the city has exploded

as mass car ownership has opened up a much wider set of spatial possibilities.

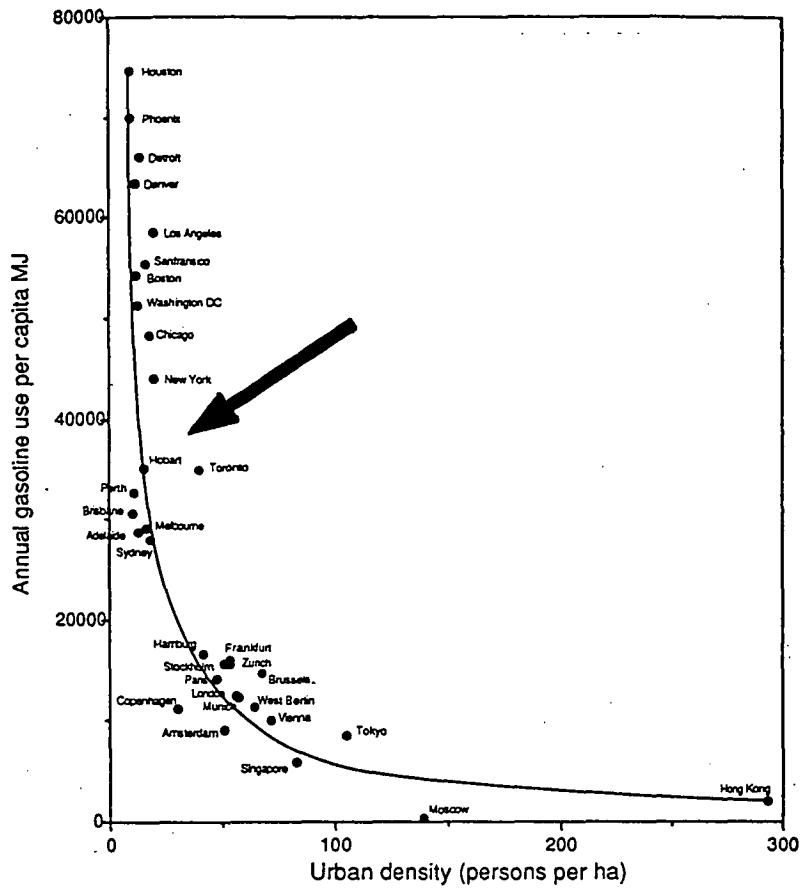
MAP 3.2 - HOBART - THE PEDESTRIAN CITY



Source: Clark, p.8

Hoey (1992) used work by Newman and Kenworthy to demonstrate the inverse relationship between gasoline consumption and urban density for different cities around the world. Placing Hobart within this context, Hoey discovered that it ranked highest of all Australian capital cities in terms of annual per capita fuel consumption. (See Figure 3.12)

FIGURE 3.12 - GASOLINE PER CAPITA VERSUS URBAN DENSITY



Note: gasoline and density values for Hobart refer to 1981, remaining cities values taken from Newman & Kenworthy 1989

Source: Hoey 1992, p. 50

Table 3.1 (below) shows that, Hobart is clearly ahead of the Australian average in terms of per capita automobile use at the time of comparison. In addition, Hobart lags behind the Australian average in public transport use.

TABLE 3.1 - SOME COMPARATIVE INDICATORS OF CAR DEPENDENCE

	Gas Use (MJ /1000 people)	Vehicles (/1000 people)	Owner-ship (/ 1000 people)	Parking Spaces (/ 1000 CBD worker s)	Journey to Work by Private Car	Journey to Work by Public Tpt
Aust. 1980 (Ave.)	29 829	559	453	327	75.7	19
Hobart 1981	33 498	-	-	421	78.93	13.71
Hobart 1989	34 516	625	496	-	80.37*	12.08*
US 1980 Average	58 541	656	533	380	82.9	11.8
Europe 1980 (Ave.)	13 280	375	328	211	44.2	34.5
Asia 1980 (Ave.)	5 493	163	88	67	14.7	60.3

* 1986 Data

Source: After Hoey 1992

Government Policy

Government infrastructure provision has supported this expansion, with the provision of road and other infrastructure, development of public housing in areas on the urban fringe (Hoey,1989), preferential treatment of private transport over public transport, a petrol pricing regime which neglects environmental and social externality effects.

Powerful vested interests are involved with private transport - the oil and automobile industries are respectively first and third in the global industrial 'league table'.

Government regulatory regimes have failed to stem the outward expansion. These have included the capital gains tax exemption applying to the principal place of residence, which has encouraged increased investment in housing to take advantage of the tax shelter.

Lack of appropriate headworks charging has also meant an effective subsidy to urban fringe development, which has generally occurred at lower densities. The quantum of this subsidy is available from a study commissioned by the Tasmanian government into development impact costs, which estimated the average marginal (per lot) public sector infrastructure costs to be $17 000 for provision of physical infrastructure, $2 800 for the provision of social infrastructure and a range from $19 000 to 21 000 for the marginal public sector cost of urban fringe development. (Vittorio, p. 19)

Whilst it is acknowledged that these estimates were based on a limited case study, there appears little doubt that expansion of urban settlement in the region is placing a burden upon the public purse.

Excessive residential zoning of fringe areas and the presence of discretionary 'let-out' clauses in planning schemes have exacerbated the expansion.

Land Speculation

Land speculation has seen the long-term running down of the agricultural potential of farm holdings. With the further encouragement of declining world prices for agricultural commodities - the 'rural crisis'- farmers have looked upon

the subdivision of their urban-rural fringe holdings as a form of 'superannuation policy'. (Fischer)

Decision-Making in Isolation

The lack of a regional perspective or information base has meant that incremental decisions regarding urban fringe development, have been taken in isolation, at the level of individual municipalities. As a result, an explosion of settlement patterns within the region has occurred without the bulk of decision-makers realising its full magnitude.

3.6.3 The Consequences of Regional Dispersion

This trend to increasing regional population dispersion has several consequences:

Inefficiency of Infrastructure Provision

The first consequence of the Hobart Metropolitan Region's spreading population is that it impacts upon the economic efficiency of infrastructure provision.

The Centre for Regional Economic Analysis, in a 1988 Study, found that this dispersed population was responsible for:

"1.Increased per capita costs in the delivery of public goods and services.

2 Further disparity between those who utilise municipal public goods and those who pay for their development and maintenance.

3. Inability to achieve meaningful economies of scale in the delivery of certain public goods and services.

4. Increased per capita costs of developing public infrastructure in the municipalities.

5. Increase in transportation networks and congestion on some main roads." (CREA, p. 6)

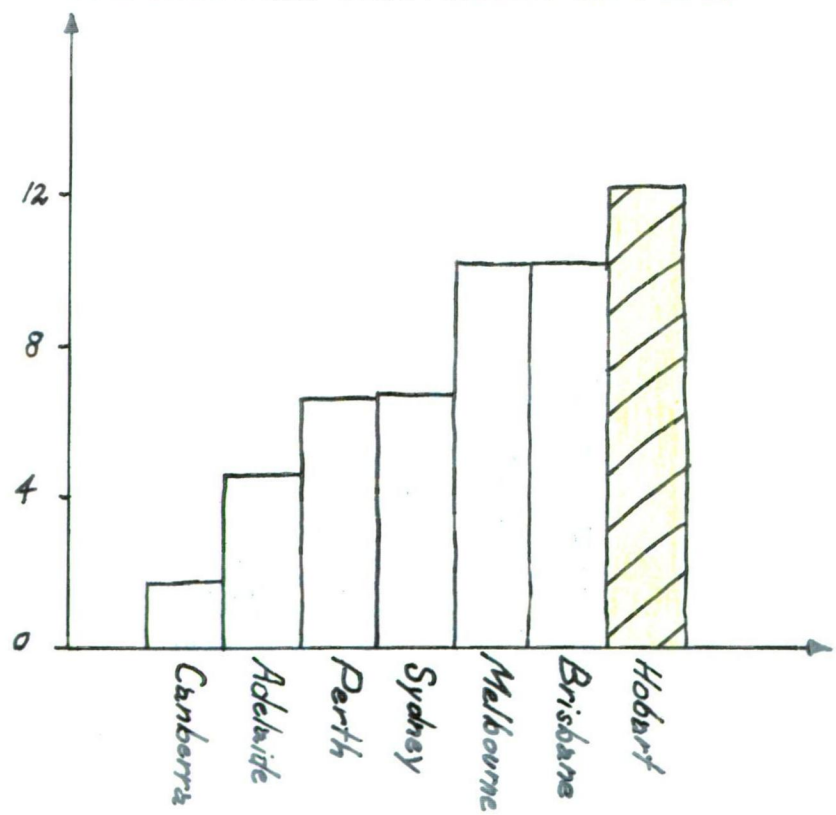
It was argued particularly that the dispersed nature of the population deterred industries that require close proximity to large consumer markets from locating in the HMR, thus inhibiting the achievement of industrial agglomeration.

Increased Contribution to Global Warming

Despite the uncertainty surrounding this issue, the international community has adopted a precautionary approach. However, there appears to have been a cavalier or dismissive attitude to this issue within the Hobart Metropolitan Region.

Recent work has shown that in the period from 1976 to 1988, Hobart had the greatest per capita increase in vehicle kilometres traveled of all Australian cities.

FIGURE 3.13 - PER CAPITA GROWTH IN VEHICLE KILOMETRES TRAVELLED 1976-1988



Source: Macklin 1993

Tasmania's global emissions of CO2, the gas responsible for the major part of global warming are shown in comparison to other countries in Table 3.2:

TABLE 3.2 - PER CAPITA CO2 EMISSIONS 1987 (Tonnes)

COUNTRY	EMISSIONS / CAPITA
World	1.1
Australia	4.6
Tasmania	**2.8**
France	1.7
Italy	1.8
Japan	2.1
United Kingdom	2.7

Source: Kinrade, pp. 26, 65

Oil consumption generates about half of the State's CO2 emissions (49%). Per capita consumption, whilst ranking about equally with Australia as a whole, is four times the global average. It dominates other sources of CO2 emissions: Combustion of coal and coke (29%) and fuelwood(22%). (Kinrade, p. 31)

Using 1985-86 figures, Kinrade found that the transport sector (36.2%) was second only to secondary industry (40.0%) as a source of CO2 emissions. (p. 33)

Tasmania generates only 0.02 per cent of total global CO2 emissions. (Kinrade, p. 65) However, the State - and the regions which comprise it - cannot afford to ignore global responsibilities lest they befall the 'tragedy of the commons'. Global warming threatens major disruption to global climatic patterns. There is major uncertainty about the regional effects of global warming (Kinrade, p. 115)

However, with so much of the State reliant upon primary industries such as agriculture and forestry, the price of procrastination could be high.

Areas within the Hobart Metropolitan area have been identified as vulnerable to sea level rise in the event of global warming. These are:

Derwent Estuary: Murphys Flat, Goulds Lagoon, Bellerive and Howrah Beaches.

Frederick Henry Bay: Seven Mile Beach, Lauderdale, Pipe Clay Lagoon, Orielton Lagoon, Coal River Delta.

D'Entrecasteaux Channel: Kingston Beach at browns River, sections of North West bay and Snug Bay, South Arm Neck. (Kinrade, p. 107)

Loss of Biological Diversity

The geographical dispersion of the Hobart Region must inevitably lead to loss of biological diversity through habitat loss or fragmentation, predation by domestic pets, weed infestations, increased fire risks and decrease in water quality.

At the time of writing, no comprehensive catalogue exists of threatened floral and faunal species within the Hobart Metropolitan Region. Recent work by Johnston on a floristic map for Hobart and current work by de Gryse in the preparation of a natural resource inventory for the City of Clarence are two isolated examples. (Kirkpatrick, J. Pers comm)

It is not only the extent of dispersion taking place, but also the way in which fringe development is occurring. Urban development has resulted in past habitat loss, and continues to do so.

FIGURE 3.14 - HISTORIC EXAMPLES OF THE THREAT TO BIODIVERSITY FROM URBAN DEVELOPMENT

1. Road through wetland at Goulds Lagoon, Granton

2. Tip in a wetland at Lauderdale

Photos: Author

3.15 - EXAMPLE OF CONTEMPORARY SUBDIVISION, TYNDALL ROAD, KINGSTON

Photos: Author

3.6.4 Conclusion

For economic and environmental reasons, the dispersion of the regional population must be slowed. As indicated, the causes of the problem are manifold. A one-dimensional attempt to control this phenomenon purely through land use zoning will not succeed in the face of the broader societal pressures. Whilst an important tool, land use zoning can only be one part of a multi-pronged solution. It is only through obtaining a clear understanding of the extent of the problem, identifying the winners and losers under the status quo and conveying this information to the public realm, that planners can hope to bring the issue to public consciousness.

Chapter 4

Work

"The city that faces up to the future must have some sense of its destiny, some sense of looking beyond expediency. Yet it is hard to reconcile these qualities with the everyday realities. What marks out the successful city is a sense of the possible."
(Sudjic, p. 103)

4.0 INTRODUCTION

This Chapter examines Work, the second element in the Place-Work-Folk trilogy of Geddes. The Chapter begins by looking at emerging global trends in the nature of work.

Next, the chapter turns to the case study area, the Hobart Metropolitan Region. The economic history of the region is examined, as is a comprehensive study of the regional economy carried out by the Centre for Regional Economic analysis in 1988.

Changes in the structure of the region's workforce over the past two decades are considered. Hobart's current patterns of land use are also described.

The Chapter closes by drawing some conclusions about the regional economy in the light of the preceding discussion and emerging world trends.

PART 1 - WORK- A GLOBAL OVERVIEW

4.1 THE INFLUENCE OF TECHNOLOGICAL CHANGE

Changes in technology- the ways and means of humans doing things- have been responsible in large part for the advent of the global village. These technological changes when allied with a lag in the development of appropriate cultural and ethical systems to responsibly manage technology and its effects have triggered social and

environmental upheaval in the past and threaten to increasingly do so in the future.

Geddes, in distinguishing between Palaeolithic, Neolithic, Paleotechnic and Neotechnic societies was drawing this critical conclusion in Cities in Evolution. Changes in industrial technology from coal and steam to oil and electricity promised evolution to a higher form of society provided there was a concomitant change in human attitudes to enable the appropriate employment of this technology.

The evolution of technology and work is commonly considered as a series of revolutions, with different forms of social organisation and mores arising as a result of each one. (See Table 4.1) As each revolution takes place, new technologies in the dominant employment sector displace labour, and a new type of society based on the major employment generators evolves.

TABLE 4.1 - REVOLUTIONS IN TECHNOLOGY, WORK AND SOCIETY

TYPE OF SOCIETY	CHARACTERISTICS
Hunter Gatherer	No concept of formal work Strong links to natural systems by custom
Agrarian	Agriculture- based employment Rural population location
Industrial	Mechanisation, division of labour Rapid urbanisation Utilitarianism and the work ethic separation from nature
Post -Industrial (Service)	Information based society with the majority of employment in the provision of services

Source: after Jones

4.2 EMERGING GLOBAL TRENDS

Fundamental changes appear to be occurring in the nature and relevance of work which, in turn, have implications for the way in which planning functions are performed.

4.2.1 The Information Society

Advances in information and communications technology (ICT) are increasing the quantum of available information, its availability in a variety of media, the speed and volume of data transfer, and the interactivity of the user interface. Continuing price-performance improvements in ICT are speeding its widespread acceptance.

Paquette suggests that a second wave of information and communications technology will move society into a cognitive society in which knowledge, rather than information is all-important. That is, volumes of available data will be such that the critical facility will be to discriminate, picking out only that data which really is of value and using that as input to knowledge-based productive uses.

If knowledge and information are to be the currency of the future, then provision of knowledge-based infrastructure will be the well-spring of long term beneficial change. Newton has found that, "With few exceptions there appears to be a trend that those Australian urban centres with a higher than (national) average involvement in the information economy also experience higher than average levels of economic well-being. " (Newton, p. 229)

4.2.2 Chronic Unemployment and Underemployment - A Declining Work Ethic and an Increasing Leisure Ethic

Significant economic restructuring has taken place in the Western World in the past two decades, which has resulted in the emergence of a sustained high level of structural

unemployment, increasing casualisation of labour and the growth of part-time work. Studies suggest that, as a result, a person's possession of work is being seen less and less as providing the definition of personal worth.Worpole suggests that hobbies and lifestyles, rather than jobs are the new sources of personal identity.

It appears that work will provide a source of meaning for a declining proportion of people within the general population. Therefore, other opportunities for personal validation will need to be provided in terms of cultural and leisure pursuits and non-vocational education.

Mackay points out that the proportion of the Australian labour force with part-time employment has already reached one quarter and that, "the increasing gap between employment supply and demand suggests that the part-time worker will become an increasingly common phenomenon." (Mackay, p. 99)

These trends in the labour force suggest that planners need to reconnect themselves with the public domain, which has suffered in emphasis in recent times as a result of public sector fiscal restraint and the privatisation of leisure. Examples of public domain issues include the acquisition and maintenance of public open space, addition to and, where appropriate, conversion of, social infrastructure such as schools.

4.2.3 The Changing Role and Growing Importance of Education

Both Paquette and Batten emphasise the critical importance of education in shaping the cognitive society. There is an evident link between the level of education of a work force and the value and capability of the resultant human capital. The Industrial Revolution was built on a pool of labourers who had received an elementary education. However,

'Taylorised' methods of educational mass production are no longer appropriate in an era of rapid technological change, built upon increasing skills specialisation and the need for whole-of-life training.

Education seems to be a critical component of the 'human infrastructure' of the prosperous city of the future. "A city's strongest sales point will be the availability of a motivated and educated pool of potential employees." (Sudjic, p. 123)

4.2.4 The Importance of Environmental Quality and Quality of Life

"The quality of life provided by our cities will determine their atttractiveness to the growth industries of next century." (Lowe)

In a global economy transformed by information and communications technology, linkages between nodes by air transport and electronic means have replaced the fixed road, rail and sea-route linkages of the industrial age. (Batten) These new linkages are infinitely more flexible, allowing greater freedom of locational choice for enterprises. As a consequence, there is an emerging trend towards economic competition, not between nation-states, but between city-regions for the relocation of the new generation of information-based enterprises.

One of the great locational attractors in this new state of affairs is the environmental quality / quality of life which a particular city-region can offer. In this context, environmental quality / quality of life factors take on much more significance - as key determinants of urban policy, rather than peripheral considerations. No longer are these factors merely a desirable surplus flowing almost accidentally to the citizens of a city-region. They are key planks in a city's ability to attract enterprise, to attract

visitors and to provide product and marketing differentiation in an increasingly homogeneous world environment.

4.2.5 The Workplace

Early industrialisation saw the emergence of factory buildings which were specialised machines, each differing according to the kind of industry carried on within. These industries in turn, required specialised locations- being sited close to transport and to raw materials. However, "In the late twentieth century, that degree of specialisation has given way to an increasing convergence in the surroundings in which work is housed. High investment manufacturing has come to resemble what was once seen as white collar employment increasingly closely. ... Equally the distinctions between the location of industrial and office buildings has become hopelessly blurred. The out-of-town industrial park, with low-rent, simple, shed-like buildings used for distribution and warehousing, has now been invaded by the workplaces of an increasing number of highly skilled workers too." (Sudjic, p. 120)

The conceptual framework and regulatory devices of land use planning were substantially developed in response to the conditions prevailing in the nineteenth century industrial cities. Land use was a very good proxy for environmental impact in a time when only a narrow range of available technologies prevailed in each industry. Today , a broad spectrum of technologies is available within any given industry from so-called 'clean technology' to those causing major environmental and amenity impacts. A growing convergence of industrial and commercial activities is also apparent. Land use is becoming an increasingly 'blunt instrument' for regulatory purposes.

"The post-Fordist era is being characterised increasingly by flexible production - much smaller production units and a greater integration of factories and workshops into

production complexes comprising interdependent units; co-ordinated in part, by electronic networks and efficient air/ground transport networks. Such economic activity requires spatial proximity of linked productive units - an agglomeration economy" (Newton, p. 229) The use of traditional land use zoning to separate'conflicting' land uses may actually be working against the achievement of these agglomeration economies.

Another emerging work-place trend is the increase in working from home. Early predictions suggesting that the trend towards telecommuting - work from home utilising advances in information and communications technology - would be dramatic, now appear to have been over-stated. Whilst some professional groups may benefit from these advances, it is feared that for lower-skilled groups, a new kind of sweated labour may develop, with heirarchical supervision occurring via electronic means.

Nevertheless, an increase in the amount of home-work seems inevitable. Frank , speaking in the U.S. context, predicts that organisational restructuring and the increase in part-time and after-hours work , in addition to telecommuting, will fuel a 41 per cent increase in home-workers between 1992 and 1997.

The move to an information/knowledge based society has implications for the way that we are educated, the way that we work, where we work, and indeed, if we work. A very different kind of society is evolving. However, our planning ethics and regulatory tools are still based upon the characteristics of a receding industrial society.

4.2.6 The Growth of the Global Economy

"The landscape of global economic power structures today has little in common with that of the 1960s ... The world has shrunk as international interdependence and the

globalisation of product and capital markets have progressed rapidly, bringing cultures into closer contact with one another. The driving force behind this phenomenon in the 1950s and 1960s was international trade; in the 1970s and 1980s, it was primarily the rapid integration of financial markets. Now it is the turn of foreign direct investment and the forging of international corporate alliances (by transnational corporations) to act as catalysts in the globalisation process." (Michalski in OECD, p.8)

Transnational corporations (TNCs) have become a growing feature of the international economy. "In fact, three hundred and fifty of them control thirty per cent of the entire GNP of the world market economy." (Birch, p. 20) Their capacity for vertical integration- the internalisation of the entire production process from acquisition of raw materials and research and development to production to marketing and distribution gives them huge oligopoly power. Many transnationals have annual budgets bigger than entire nations or states. (Birch) This gives them enormous bargaining power in their dealings with governments. It seems that the growing webs of strategic partnership developing among and between transnational corporations are now increasing horizontal integration - further magnifying TNC power.

TNCs, like other corporations, aim at profit maximisation. The critical difference is that corporations operating within individual companies are subject to a greater degree of control by governments than those which traverse national boundaries. TNCs , because of their intrinsically supranational nature, seek to maximise market share and profits without the constraints to which local firms are subject. TNC behaviour is less constrained, and therefore, less likely to coincide with, local or national societal objectives.

The globalisation process has consequences for regional labour markets and resource bases. TNCs operate on the world stage and are less likely to form bonds with specific locations on grounds other than pure economics. TNCs have the capacity to switch location rapidly from one nation to another when better investment options arise.

This may have dramatic implications for regions which lose a large source of employment and a large purchaser of raw materials overnight. At the time of the Industrial Revolution, the Luddites, could at least find work within the region , albeit work which was more alienating than the traditional crafts. With the advent of a global economy, those workers made redundant by TNC capital-shifting are just as likely to be replaced by workers on the other side of the globe.

PART 2 -WORK- A REGIONAL PERSPECTIVE

4.3 A BRIEF ECONOMIC HISTORY OF HOBART

Hobart's European settlement as a penal colony for the British Empire in 1804 and the pastoral society which subsequently developed as a consequence of that settlement led to the displacement and eventual decimation of the island's indigenous people, who had lived a hunter-gatherer lifestyle for close to forty millennia.

Hobart Town developed into a prosperous port city, with thriving whaling, shipbuilding and trading operations in place by the 1850's. Prior to the Victorian gold rushes, it was the second largest city in Australia. However, a series of simultaneous events in the 1850's led to the City's relegation from strategically important capital city to provincial status. The end of transportation was a severe jolt to the local economy. The advent of steam ships (freeing ships from reliance upon the motive power of the 'Roaring Forties') and

the growing prosperity of Melbourne meant that sailing ships no longer needed to rely on Hobart as a port of call. The gold rushes led to a diminished local workforce. The whaling industry began to decline as a result of overharvesting and the development of alternatives to whale oil.

Today the city relies on its pre-eminence as administrative centre and centre of government for the State of Tasmania. The activities of the Port of Hobart are of declining importance as a consequence of containerisation and the harsh realities of Hobart's locational disadvantage for this sort of activity. Large-scale manufacturing industries, which have for the last seven decades provided significant employment opportunities for the city's workers, are now retrenching workers, in order to remain competitive on world markets.

The following trends or characteristics appear to emerge from a consideration of Hobart's economic history:

1. The city's role as seat of government has been an important component in the local economy. Hobart's private sector has had a longstanding dependence of upon public sector actions through infrastructure provision and other forms of subsidy.

2. The economy of the city has passed through a series of revolutions in a relatively short period of time: from hunter-gatherer society to agrarian society about fifteen or twenty years after European settlement, from agrarian society to industrial society with the advent of hydro-industrialisation and from industrial to post-industrial society in recent times.

3. Hobart's role as a port fulfilled a major part of the city's economy for over 150 years. However, the relative significance of these port functions has declined.

4. The city's private sector has been largely dependent in the past upon resources gathered from the city's hinterland - timber, apples, electricity, ore for zinc production.

5. The decline of manufacturing industry, the stagnation of an increasingly derivative commercial city (as 'branch office') and the parsimony of governments exercising fiscal constraint suggests that Hobart will need to 'reinvent' its economic basis if stagnation is not to occur.

6. Hobart's economy has never been autonomous. The city's claim to becoming the 'master of its own destiny ' has been constrained by the vagaries of sovereign risk and fluctuations in the world economy.

7. Emerging industries, such as tourism, seem unlikely to provide a sufficiently resilient economic base for the quantum of employment opportunities or wealth creation required to put the local economy onto a firmer footing.

8. Hobart has, for a large part of its history, experienced a slow rate of economic growth.

4.4 AN ECONOMIC STUDY OF THE HOBART REGION

The Centre for Regional Economic Analysis prepared the first comprehensive study into the economy of the Hobart Metropolitan Region in 1988 on behalf of the Hobart Metropolitan Councils Association. The Study concentrated primarily upon the Cities of Hobart, Glenorchy and Clarence; and the Municipality of Kingborough.

The Study paints the picture of a regional economy disadvantaged by its location distant from interstate and overseas markets. These locational disadvantages effectively place "a 33 per cent transport tax on all Tasmanian exports.

The effective consumption tax on the residents of Tasmania amounts to 3 per cent." (CREA, p.7)

The Study's findings in relation to particular sectors of the regional economy are summarised below:

4.4.1 Manufacturing

The structure of the manufacturing sector in the Hobart Region is bipolar, with a large number of small firms (84 % of firms at the time of the CREA survey having less than 50 employees) and a few large firms.

The small firms, which dominate in terms of employment provision(CREA, p. 18), are primarily local-market orientated. The large firms, on the other hand, "export practically their entire output to mainland and foreign markets." (CREA, p. 18)

Employment in the manufacturing sector was found to have declined by 17.5 per cent in the ten years since 1974-75.

The Greater Hobart Statistical Division's (GHSD) major industries were found to be within the standard industry classifications of 'paper, paper products and publishing'; and 'food, beverages and tobacco'- which accounted for over 50 per cent of GHSD manufacturing value added at the time of the Study.

4.4.2 Tourism

The Study found that tourism accounted for nearly 5 per cent of the region's employment and had contributed nearly one sixth of the region's employment growth between 1981 and 1986.

The Region experienced the highest number of visitor nights in Tasmania in 1986 at 5.3. However, it was found to be highly seasonal, with low tourist numbers outside the peak period from January to March.

The Study found no evidence of a multiplier effect for tourist expenditure in the region. That is, "the fact that leakages take place implies that increases in tourist expenditure will not generate economic development in the Hobart Metropolitan Region". (CREA, pp. 87-88)

4.4.3 The Public Sector

The Study concluded that the public sector was a dominant force in the regional economy, acting to stabilise it from external private sector economic shocks. Production of public sector goods and services were considered to contribute to the welfare of the local community. Both improvements in the quantum of services provided and the efficiency of their provision held the potential to boost the local economy.

However, public service decline was thought likely to impact adversely upon the local economy as private sector investment would be unlikely to replace the investment shortfall and the private sector is structured to service the public sector.

4.4.4 Transport Trends

The major findings of the Study were the declining importance of port activities and the associated rail linkages. The decline in these transport modes was linked to the downturn in manufacturing.

The most marked transport trend was the increase of the motor car for the journey to work. In the HMR the use of the car as a means of journey to work increased by 7.4 per cent between 1981 and 1986 while the use of public transportation has declined by 28.5 per cent. (CREA, p. 26)

Hobart airport was found to account for only a small portion of interstate inbound and outbound freight movements. However, industries that ship goods by air transport such as

perishable foods, biotechnology and precision instruments were found to have access to a well-developed level of infrastructure. The prospect of attracting similar industries reliant upon air transport was found to be much greater than for those industries forced to rely upon bulk transport.

The Study then made a number of recommendations pertaining to both public and private sectors. Some pertinent recommendations are summarised below:

4.4.5 Recommendations - Public Sector

Combination of Council services where economies of scale can be identified, particularly in the areas of data processing and long range planning.

Co-ordination of grant submission proposals on the basis of potential contributions to the economic welfare of the region, eliminating counterproductive bickering between Councils.

Initiation of a unified regional strategic plan identifying present and future public and private development programs.

Exploration of the possibility of extending the borrowing capacity of the region through resource pooling, thus enhancing the ability of the region to raise capital for projects.

Attraction of Commonwealth and State development projects to the region through a co-ordinated approach by Councils.

Promotion of linkages with intellectual resources and educational facilities within the region. This could include the support of post-graduate work into regional issues.

Establishment of a regional task force group to assess the impact of major economic issues upon the region. (CREA, pp. 10-11)

4.4.6 Recommendations - Private Sector

These recommendations concentrate on local government stimulation of the private sector through use of those instruments:

Establishment of a reference library containing such things as planning schemes, government regulations and economic data as an information resource for businesses in the region.

Broadening of local market through support for measures to increase net migration to the region.

Creation of investment incentives through provision of infrastructure, planning services, rate and fee concessions, regional preference in government contracts and provision of professional services.

Promotion of forums to enhance linkages between businesses, government and educational institutions.

Collective promotion of the region for the purpose of economic development.

Promotion of "feasible, viable and environmentally appropriate development projects."

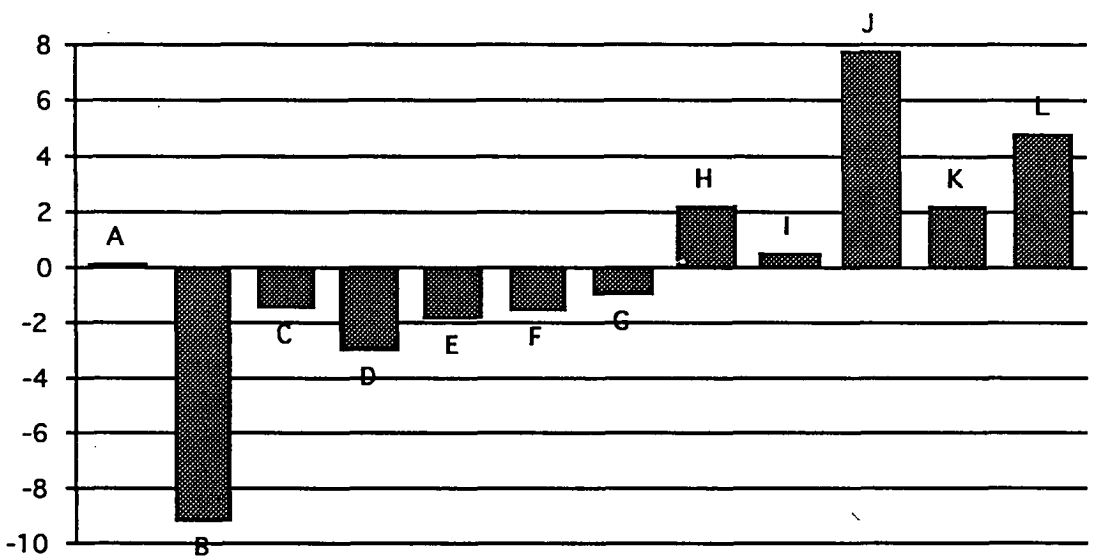
Collective tourism promotion, including provision of an 'expansive vision' of regional tourist attractions, aimed at extending the average visitor stay in the region and levelling out seasonal variations in visitor numbers.(CREA, pp. 12-14)

4.5 GREATER HOBART STATISTICAL DIVISION - EMPLOYMENT TRENDS 1971-1991

The profound changes occurring in patterns of work throughout the developed world are reflected no less in the employment market for the Hobart Region.

FIGURE 4.1

HOBART STATISTICAL DIVISION - CHANGE IN SHARE OF EMPLOYED PERSONS BY INDUSTRY 1971-1991 EXPRESSED AS A PERCENTAGE



SOURCE: ABS Census Data

LEGEND

A - Agriculture, Fishing, Forestry, Hunting & Mining
B - Manufacturing
C - Electricity, Gas & Water
D - Construction
E - Wholesale & Retail Trade
F - Transport & Storage
G - Communication
H - Finance, Property & Business Services
I - Public Administration & Defence
J - Community Services
K - Recreation, Personal & Other Services
L - Not Stated or Classifiable

4.5.1 Changes in Employment by Industry

First, the trend towards a labour market dominated by services and information employment and away from traditional manufacturing employment is evident:

In the past twenty years, there has been a significant drop in manufacturing jobs , with 4002 fewer jobs in 1991 than in 1971- a decrease in manufacturing employment in percentage terms of 34 per cent. Manufacturing employment fell significantly despite an increase overall in the number of employed persons.

At the same time, jobs in the information and services sector have increased substantially. Jobs in those industry categories have increased from 21 941 to 36420 - an increase in percentage terms of 66%. That employment sector increased its share of the number of employed persons from 36.5 per cent to just under half of the total (49.2 per cent.)

4.5.2 Changes in Employment by Occupation

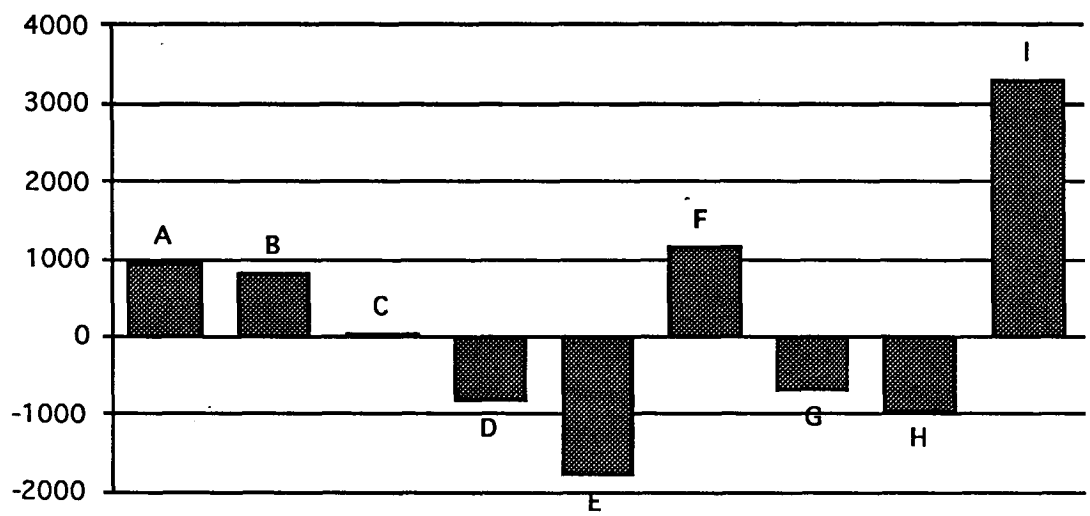
Industry classifications do not distinguish between different types of occupation carried on within a particular industry. It is therefore necessary to examine changes in employment by kind of occupation over the period 1986 to 1991. (See Figure 4.2 overleaf)

While the large number of 'inadequately described or not stated'census responses tends to cast significant doubt on the drawing of any categorical conclusions , it appears that those kinds of occupation most affected by reductions in employment during the five year period were those involving manual labour such as tradespersons and labourers. These figures should be further qualified by recognition that they represent opposite ends of a 'boom-bust' cycle. It may be that the recession of 1991 alerted firms to a need for structural change that was not evident in better times.

Clerical employment has also decreased significantly for a number of reasons. Rapid advances in information and communications technology has allowed the recentralisation of many 'branch office functions' to mainland corporate headquarters and facilitated the performance of routine tasks by computerised means. Public sector debt reduction strategies have also resulted in large-scale redundancies.

FIGURE 4.2

GREATER HOBART STATISTICAL DIVISION - CHANGES IN EMPLOYMENT BY OCCUPATION 1986-1991



SOURCE : ABS Census Data

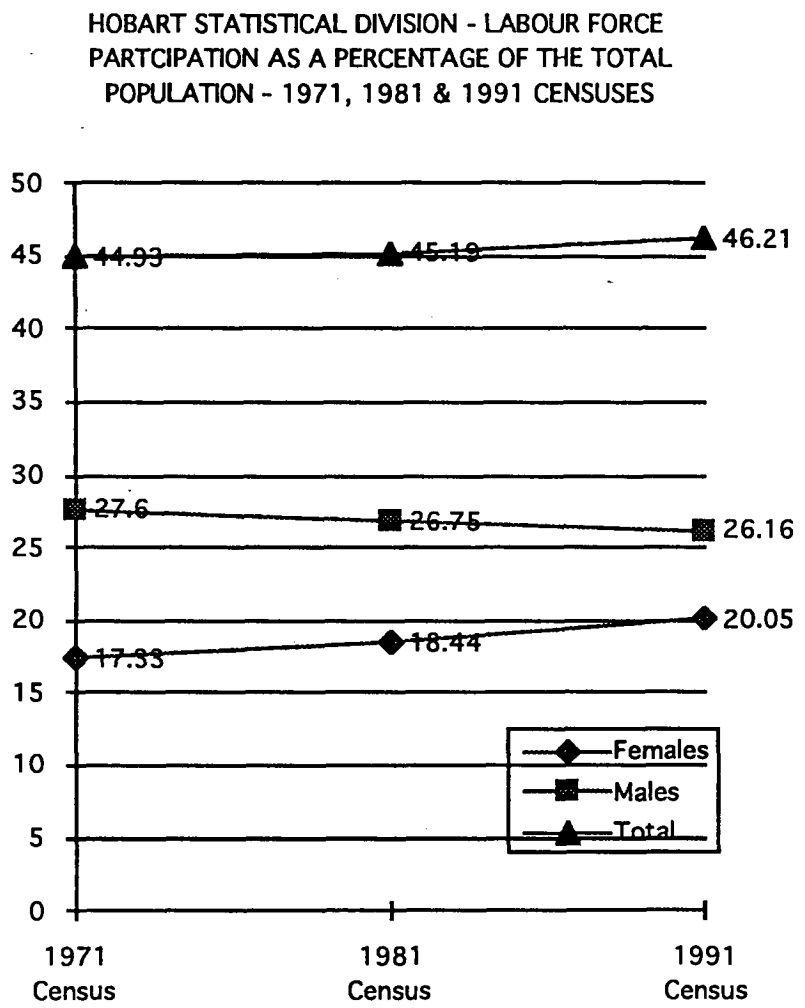
LEGEND

A - Managers & Administrators
B - Professionals
C - Para-professionals
D - Tradespersons
E - Clerks
F - Sales & Personal Service
G - Plant Operators, Drivers
H - Labourers & Related Workers
I - Inadequately Described or Not Stated.

4.5.3 Journey to Work

Journey to Work data at the 1991 Census, shows that the Hobart Statistical Division still exhibits a high degree of primacy with regard to employment location. 50.3 per cent of employed persons within the Hobart Statistical Division worked within the City of Hobart, whilst 20.7 per cent worked in the City of Glenorchy and 10.1 per cent in the City of Clarence.

FIGURE 4.3



SOURCE: ABS Census Data

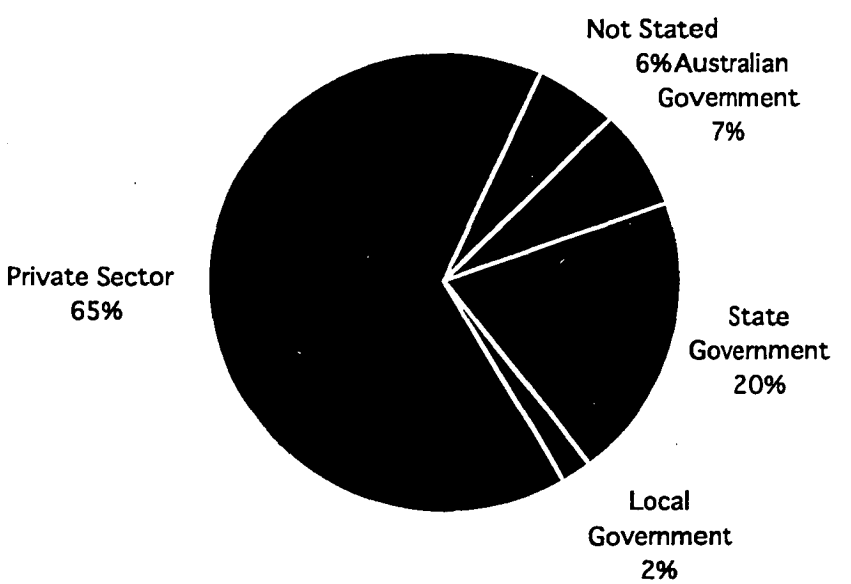
4.5.4 Changes in Labour Force Participation Rates

While the proportion of males in the labour force has declined from 1971-1991, the proportion of females in the labour force has risen markedly. As a result, the number of persons in the labour force as a percentage of the total population increased marginally.

However, it should be noted that those in the labour force represent less than half of the total population. If unemployed persons are taken into consideration, the number of persons employed as a proportion of the population is even less. The increase in overall participation cannot be expected to persist in the long term, given the region's ageing population.

FIGURE 4.4

HOBART STATISTICAL DIVISION - EMPLOYMENT BY SECTOR AT 1991 CENSUS



SOURCE: ABS Census Data

4.5.5 Employment by Sector

The Hobart region has always depended on its role as a centre of government for employment. However, the private sector provides the overwhelming majority of jobs, and this proportion has increased in the last decade.

Hobart's status as a State capital means that there is a higher level of public sector employment than the Australian average. At the 1991 Census, the private sector accounted for 65% of Hobart's employment as compared to 76 % of the nation's. It appears that the difference in public sector employment is due to the significantly larger proportion of State public sector employment which at 20 % is some 5% above the national average and the correction of national figures for non-response.

From the 1971 Census to 1981 Census, the public sector increased its share of employment in the Hobart region from 29.7 % of the workforce to 36.0%, an increase of some 7180 jobs. At the same time, private sector employment increased only marginally. However, between 1981 and 1991, the trend was reversed. Whilst local government employment increased by nearly 800 (65% in relative terms), State public sector employment fell and Commonwealth public sector employment was relatively stable. In the same period, private sector employment increased by 15 561, boosting its share of employment to 65 % while the public sector share fell to 29.2 %.

4.6 REGIONAL LAND USE PATTERNS FOR COMMERCIAL, RETAIL & INDUSTRIAL FUNCTIONS

Map 4.1 (overleaf) shows the approximate location of the various land use zones contained in municipal planning schemes for the region.

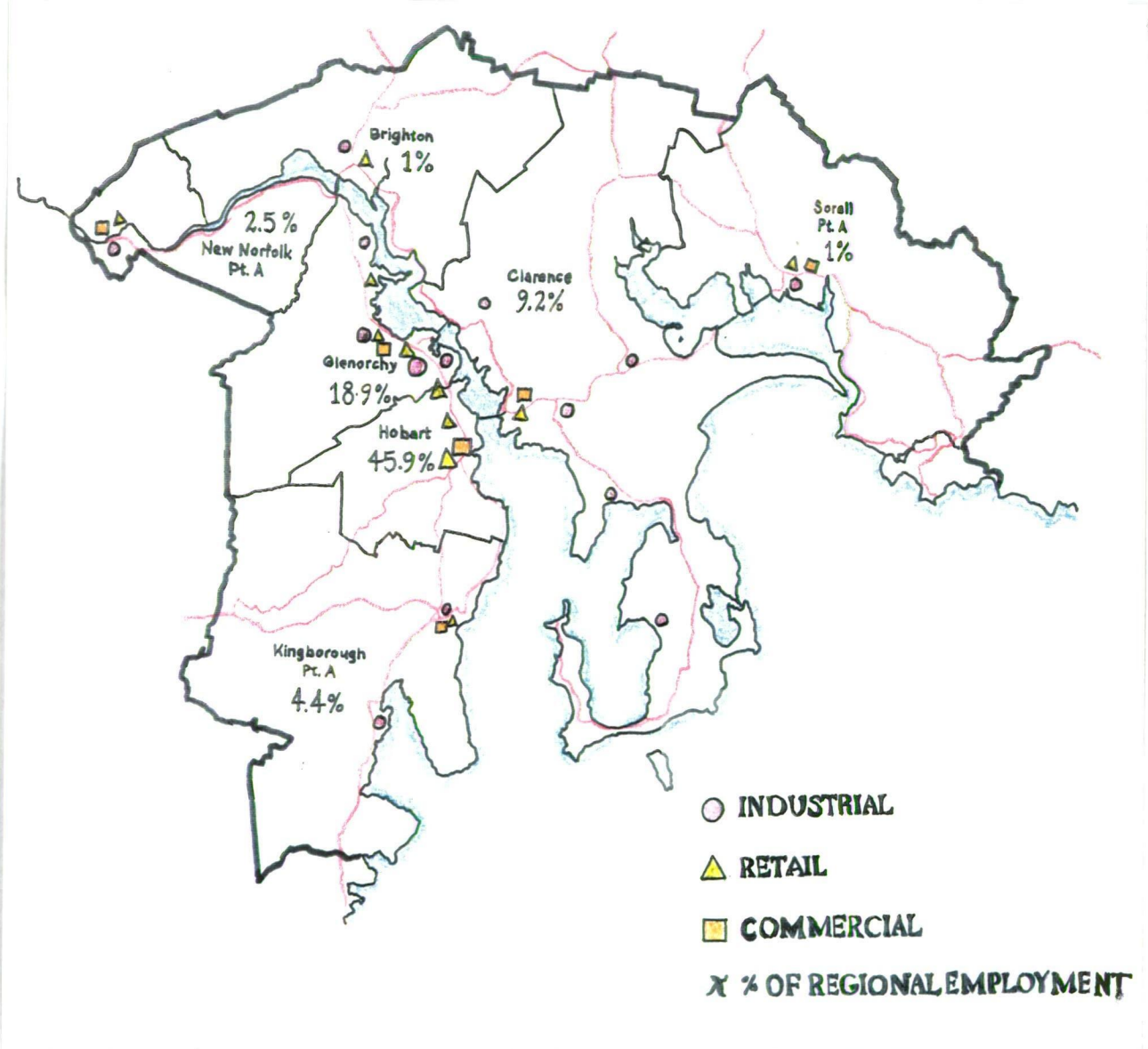
4.6.1 Commercial and Administrative

The Hobart Central Business District and its surrounds is the dominant commercial centre within the Region. However, local commercial functions are also carried out at Glenorchy, Moonah, Rosny, New Norfolk, Kingston and Sorell.

Central Hobart is also the location of most public service functions within the Region. All State government departments have their headquarters in this area. A notable exception is Mineral Resources Tasmania, which is based at Rosny. Commonwealth service providers such as the Department of Social Security and the Commonwealth Employment Service have offices at Hobart, Glenorchy, Rosny Park, Bridgewater and Kingston (CES only).

The Central Area Strategy Plan's Office Topic Report(1990) refers to the dominance of the public sector as generator of demand for new office development in the City. Given the conservatism of investors in this sector of the property market, the absence of any conscious policy of government office decentralisation and the relative affordability of inner city office space, it was considered unlikely that office/administrative uses would decentralise in the immediate future.

MAP 4.1 - REGIONAL INDUSTRIAL, COMMERCIAL & RETAIL LAND USE



Source: Planning Schemes within the Hobart Metropolitan Region

"The influence of market locational preference and in particular that of developers/investors to maximise the range of potential market opportunities in terms of leasing militates against any office decentralisation from the central area to the suburbs, especially in the absence of either the the State or the Commonwealth as an owner/builder. In any event, the small population of the Metropolitan Area compared with other mainland capitals and the continued lack of a strategy for the Hobart Region as a whole renders such a proposition unlikely except for ad hoc political reasons." (Hobart City Council, p. 47)

This analysis, while running counter to trends experienced in the mainland capital cities and overseas, would appear to be intuitively correct because of the atypical public sector-dominated nature of the local market for commercial office space.

4.6.2 Retail

The Hobart CBD was formerly the predominant retail centre for the region. However, this dominance has been challenged. Initially, public transport links to the Northern suburbs resulted in the development of Moonah as a commercial retail strip. Subsequently, the greater mobility afforded by the motor car has enabled the development of regional shopping centres at Rosny Park, Sandy Bay, Glenorchy, Kingston, Claremont and Bridgewater. Sorell has in recent times been endowed with a supermarket, to service the growing residential community in that Municipality. New Norfolk's relative isolation has enabled a traditional town centre to develop. However, this has been hard hit in recent times by a declining local employment base, as a result of employment reductions at the Royal Derwent Hospital and ANM's Boyer paper mill.

4.6.3 Industrial

The major industrial areas in the Region are situated in the Northern suburbs. Glenorchy has traditionally been the industrial centre of the Region, with major impact operations including Pasminco EZ, Cadbury Schweppes and industrial estates in the Howard Road and Derwent Park Road areas. Other pockets of limited impact industrial zoning exist at Grove Road, Jackson Street and Chapel Street. A spine of service industrial zoning follows the Main Road. A science and technology park exists at Dowsings Point. There is also an area zoned for Marine Industry at Goodwood.

Hobart, was until the advent of electrification, the location of most industrial activity within the region, much of it centred around the City's docks. However, only remnants of industrial activity now remain, with limited areas in North Hobart zoned for Light Industry.

Clarence has areas zoned for light industry at Cambridge, Mornington and Rokeby. Another area zoned for such activity, which does not appear to have yet been taken up, exists at Scotts Road, near Risdon Vale. Extractive industry zoning exists near Mortimer Bay, which provides the region with its sand supplies.

Kingborough has light industrial zoned areas at Browns Road and Algona Road. Light Industrial/Port and Marine zoning also exists in the vicinity of North West Bay.

Brighton contains a large major impact industrial zone to the north of Bridgewater, which straddles the Midland Highway and is buffered by Limited Impact Industrial zoning. This area contains the Boral quarry, which provides the region with a large part of its gravel requirements. However, a large area of the industrial zoned land is yet to be taken up.

New Norfolk's major industrial activity occurs at ANM's Boyer paper mill. An area is also zoned for Service Industry on the eastern side of the Derwent in close proximity to the town centre.

Sorell's industrial zoned land is restricted to a small area of Industry-zoned land just to the south of the town centre.

4.7 THE FUTURE OF HOBART'S REGIONAL ECONOMY

In this Chapter, some characteristics of the Hobart regional economy have been examined. In Chapter 3, the trend towards an information society was identified. Telecom Australia is at present well advanced on the installation of a trunk network of fibre optic cable within the State. Fibre optic cable has the capability of carrying much greater volumes of information in digital format at greater speeds than traditional coaxial cables at lower cost, and for voice communications with less interference.

This network, when coupled with the installation of digital switches will give the State's communications network for the first time the capability to access wide band services. In short, the Hobart Region will have the capacity to embark upon the vigorous development of knowledge-based enterprises which will be among the dominant businesses of the future.

Major regional centres are already linked by fibre optic cable, and the connection of smaller centres to the network is proceeding apace. In the Hobart region, Glenorchy, Lindisfarne, Bellerive, Hobart and Cambridge are connected. There is already a fibre optic loop around Hobart's central business district, linking the Davey Street and Bathurst Street Exchanges via Harrington, Bathurst, Argyle and Davey Streets.

As can be seen from this regional overview, there is a continuing emphasis within the Hobart Region upon clear cut separation between commercial, retail and industrial operations. However, as the end of the twentieth century approaches, the distinction between these various economic land uses is becoming increasingly blurred. Hybrids of retail, office and industrial functions are increasingly appearing.

Whilst many traditional land uses remain, the trend elsewhere appears to be towards convergence between different kinds of activities and their environmental and amenity impacts. This creates classification problems for town planners, which may render traditional methods of zoning control according to description of land use, obsolete.

The challenge before all sectors of the community is to recognise that an economic paradigm shift is occurring and to develop appropriate responses which capitalise on the changes without further ceding self-determination and environmental quality.

Chapter 5

Folk

The human population of the world now exceeds five billion people and is increasing by a quarter of a million people each day. Never in its history has the world had to cope with this kind of rate of growth. Over 90 per cent of this growth is occurring in developing countries, while perhaps 90 per cent of the growth in consumption is in the industrialised world. ... Stabilising both population growth and consumption are major goals for which the developing and developed countries have different but complementary responsibilities.

(Government of Australia, p. 97)

5.0 INTRODUCTION

The third element in Geddes' trilogy was 'Folk' - a Scottish rendering of Le Play's word, 'Famille' - family. The chapter begins by considering the issues of population, inequality and sense of place at global scale.

These issues are then examined in the context of the case study area, the Hobart Metropolitan Region, beginning with an examination of current population trends within the region. This will be followed by an examination of the issue of intra-regional inequity . Third, the protection of the region's places of cultural significance will be considered with a view to the enrichment of regional cultural identity.

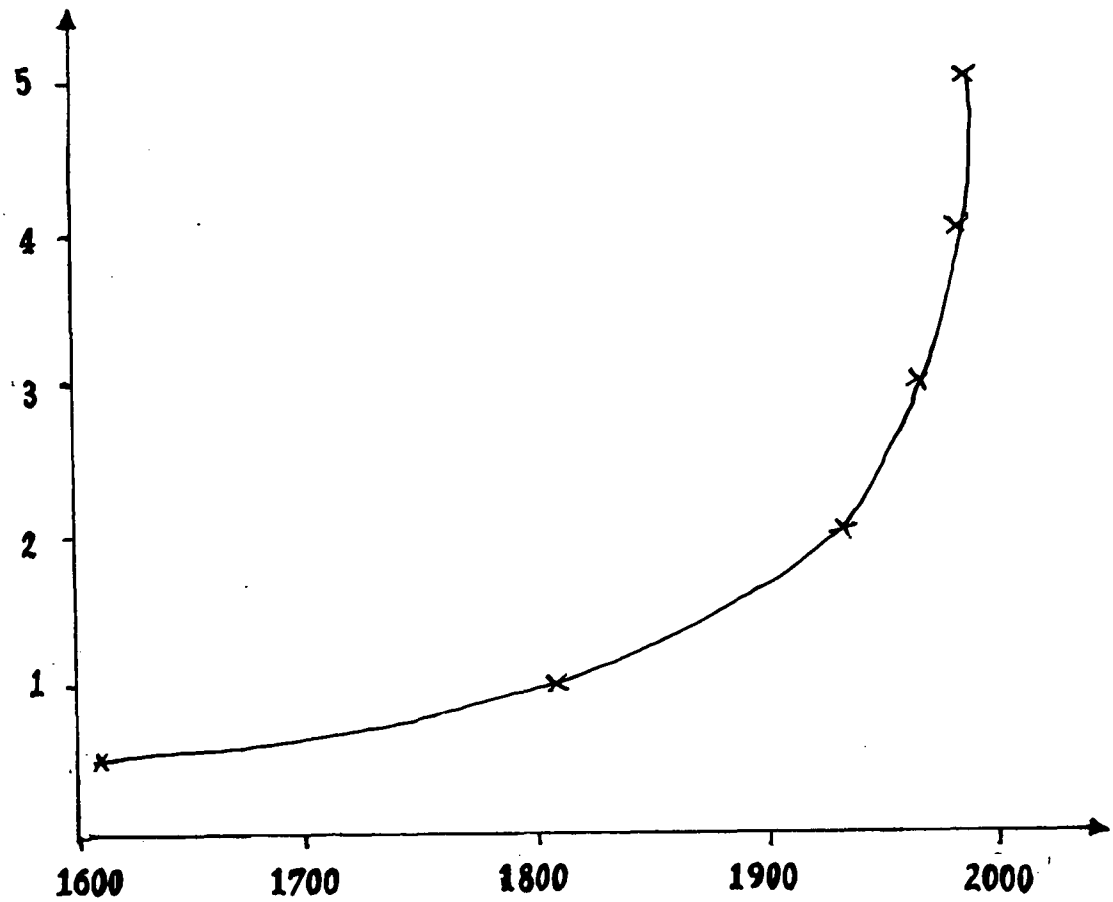
PART 1 - FOLK - A GLOBAL PERSPECTIVE

5.1 GLOBAL POPULATION

The global population is increasing at an alarming rate. This is both a human and an environmental problem. It is a human problem because accelerating population growth makes the achievement of a decent material standard of living for all people increasingly difficult to achieve. It is an

environmental problem because it places a strain on the earth's supply of resources and its capacity to assimilate the wastes generated by humans.

FIGURE 5.1 - GLOBAL POPULATION IS GROWING AT AN ACCELERATING RATE



Source: after Birch, p. 119

"The planet is passing through a period of dramatic growth and fundamental change. Our human world of 5 billion must make room for another human world. The population could stabilise at between 8 billion and 14 billion sometime next

century, according to UN projections. More than 90 per cent of the increase will occur in the poorest countries, and 90 per cent of that growth in already bursting cities." (WCED 1987, p. 4)
The population problem is a two dimensional problem in another respect. The rich countries have much higher rates of per capita resource use. Therefore, even a moderate rate of population growth in those countries can place strains on the earth's stocks of natural capital. In the poorer countries, it is the sheer rate of population growth which poses the problem, even at much lower rates of per capita resource use.

Daly and Cobb suggest that the aim for rich countries is to establish an optimum population - imprecisely defined to be "a population size that is sustainable for a very long time at levels of per capita resource use that permit a good life for all." (Cobb & Daly, p. 241) However they suggest that given evidence that the scale of throughput (the product of population and per capita resource use) of rich countries is already ecologically unsustainable, then those countries should be first learning how to achieve stability at some population level before attempting to determine the optimum population level.

Population increase has two principal components - natural increase, that is the excess of births over deaths, and immigration. It is possible to influence the size of these components through a variety of policy instruments. Australia, at the time of writing, has no explicit population policy.

However, it manipulates a number of population policy instruments, such as social security benefits, health care, family planning and immigration. The government baulks at taking the next step on the grounds that determination of an optimum level of population is too difficult. Rather, the

development of a population policy in the post-'populate or perish' era would represent a tacit admission that the central governmental objective of perpetuating material economic growth were problematic.

5.2 INEQUALITY

The World Commission on Environment and development cited inequality as the planet's main environment problem and its main development problem. (WCED, p. 6)

A litany of statistics from various sources can be quoted in support of this claim:

- The quarter of the world's population who live in industrialised countries consume 80 % of the world's commercial energy, 79 % of its steel and 85 % of its paper - and are responsible for 92 % of all industrial CO2 emissions. (Jacobs, p. 34)

- "The average person in a rich industrialised country eats three times as much food as his or her counterpart in the Third World." (Jacobs, p. 38)

- Industrialised nations, with a quarter of the world's population earn 80 % of the gross global product. (Myers, p. 219)

- "Today GNP per capita in Western Europe, North America, and Japan is, on average, some 40 times greater than in the low-income countries and five to six times higher than even in the fast-developing countries like Brazil." (Myers, p.218)

The above facts ignore the fact that there are often great disparities in wealth among the people of all countries. As a

result, per capita gross national product (GNP) figures often do not provide an accurate representation of the real material standard of living for the majority of people in those countries where an internal disparity exists.

The high levels of consumption by the developed countries are sustained in large part through the importation of raw materials and commodities, often from poorer nations. The economies of these poorer countries are thus distorted away from self sufficiency and towards a dependence upon unsustainable development paths, overseas assistance loans and aid.

One direct example is the clearing of rainforests to grow livestock or cash crops for markets in developed countries. This practice wreaks environmental havoc and disrupts the lifestyle of indigenous peoples, who have lived in harmony with the land for millennia.

Third World debtor countries become locked into loan arrangements with spiralling debt servicing requirements - driving a need for more foreign exchange, resulting in more resource depletion.

The discussion here has focussed upon issues of intra-generational equity. However, it is recognised that the question of inter- generational equity is also a critical one. Current human activities that are causing global resource depletion and other forms of environmental impoverishment are resulting in a pre-emptive diminution of the quality of life of future generations.

5.3 SENSE OF PLACE

Improvements in communications technology and mass media now enable global cultural exchange to occur in real

time. Increasing numbers of people are choosing to live in the 'hyperspace' of television or the virtual reality of a computer game rather than confront real life. The mass media are used to deliver a constant barrage of advertising to foist materialism upon a compliant public. These messages promote the rampant consumption which is at the root of many of the world's problems.

"Before modern man can gain control over the forces that now threaten his very existence, he must resume possession of himself. This sets the chief mission of the city of the future: that of creating a visible regional and civic structure, designed to make man at home with his deeper self and the larger world, attached to images of human nurture and love. ...Significant improvements will come only through applying art and thought to the city's central human concerns, with a fresh dedication to the cosmic and ecological processes that enfold all being. We must restore the city to the maternal, life-nurturing activities, the symbiotic associations that have long been neglected or suppressed. For the city should be an organ of love; and the best economy of cities is the care and culture of men." (Mumford, p. 655)

Geddes saw history as an intrinsic part of city culture: the "very life- process of our city, its heredity and momentum alike. ...This life history is not past and done with; it is incorporated with its present activities and character ...initiated by the genius of the place, continued by the spirit of the times, and accompanied by their good and evil influences. All these again, plus such fresh influences as may arise and intervene, are determining ...(the city's) opening future." (Geddes 1915, pp. 362-3)

The accelerating pace of societal change is leaving many people in culture shock, leading to personal disorientation and loss of identity. Populations are also increasingly mobile

- changing address frequently. Lives are also lived over a much wider spatial dimension. If cities are to continue to be the pinnacle of human cultural expression, then planners have a very real role in combating this cultural disorientation by making or restoring places that reconnect their inhabitants to nature and the city's history.

PART 2 - FOLK - A REGIONAL PERSPECTIVE

5.4 REGIONAL POPULATION

A number of observations arise out of an examination of the region's population change over time.

5.4.1 A Slow Rate of Population Growth

At the 1991 Census, the region accounted for 40 per cent of the population of Tasmania. Regional population has grown at a slower rate than the Tasmanian or Australian population over the past decade. These increases saw the Greater Hobart Statistical Division's population at Census increase from 168 369 persons in 1981 to 181 838 persons in 1991. (1991 figures reflect Statistical Division boundaries prior to restructuring).

The ten year population growth rate was 9.2 per cent, as compared to the growth rate of all Australian capitals of 15.1 per cent.(ABS Catalogue No. 2822.0, p.11) This growth rate was the lowest average annual growth rate of all cities of over 100, 000 people in Australia during this time. (ABS, Cat. No. 2821.0) This low rate appears to be largely a function of Hobart's low rate of net overseas migration, which stands at only about a quarter of the proportion of all Australian capital cities.

The composition of the region's population at the 1991 Census was as follows:

TABLE 5.1 REGIONAL POPULATION BY LGA AT 1991 CENSUS

MUNICIPALITY/CITY	POPULATION
Brighton Part A	11 069
Clarence	46 280
Glenorchy	42 172
Hobart	47 106
Kingborough Part A	22 238
New Norfolk Part A	6486
Sorell Part A	6505
TOTAL	181 856

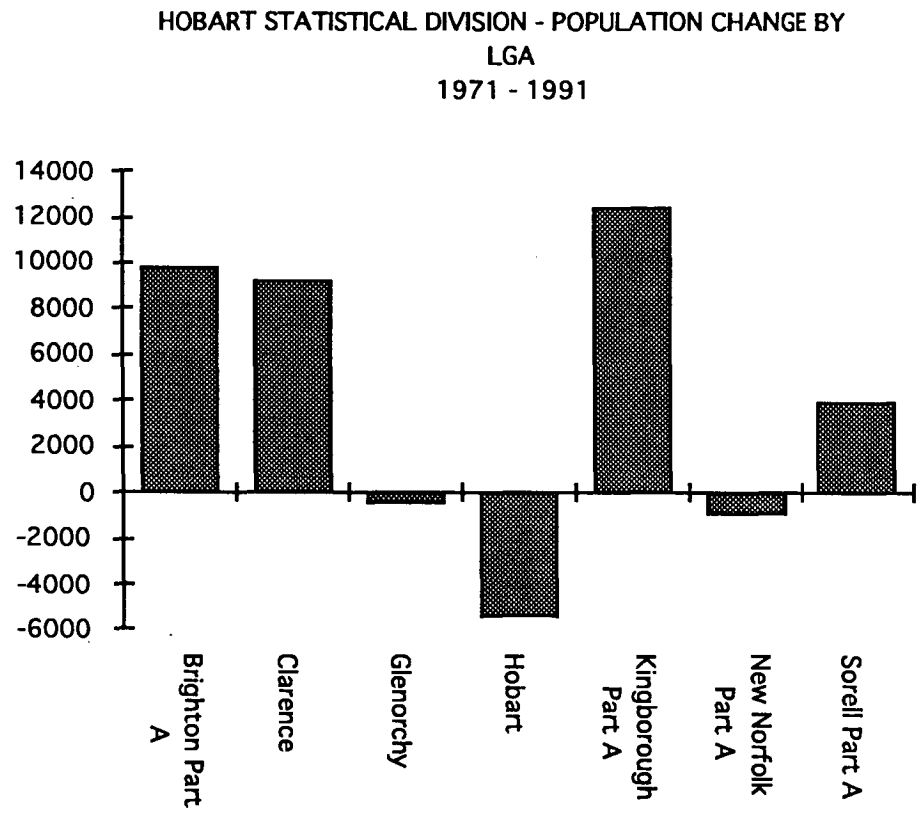
Source: ABS Census Data

The fertility rate in Australia fell below replacement level in the late 1970s. However, the population continues to expand by natural increase as a result of increased longevity.

5.4.2 A Dispersed and Dispersing Population

As stated in Chapter Three, the region's population has become more dispersed since the 1970's, with the bulk of growth occurring in what have traditionally been regarded as fringe areas.

FIGURE 5.2



Source: ABS Census Data

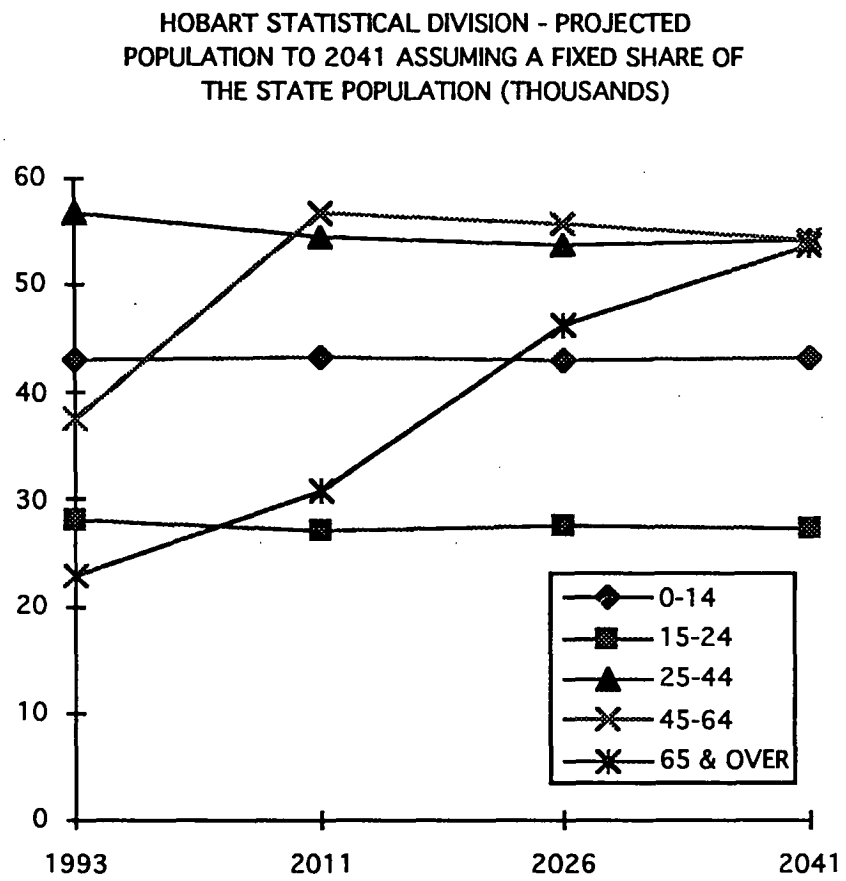
While the traditional inner population centres of Hobart and Glenorchy have declined in population in the last twenty years, municipalities on the urban fringe have more than doubled their populations. Whereas these centres accounted for 62 per cent of the region's population at the 1971 Census, their share at the 1991 Census had decreased to 49 per cent.

The City of Clarence, which consists of both inner suburban and fringe areas, has increased its population significantly during the period. However, its share of the region's population has increased only marginally - from 24.2 per cent to 25.5 per cent. On the other hand, the urban-defined areas of the outer metropolitan Councils - Brighton , Kingborough and Sorell have increased their share of the regional population in the past two decades from 8.9 per cent in 1971 to 21.9 per cent in 1991.

5.4.3 An Ageing Population

The population of the region is an ageing one. The median age at the 1991 Census was 32.4 years of age. A brief examination of population projections from the Australian Bureau of Statistics (interpolating for the Hobart Statistical Division on the basis of a fixed share of the State population at 1991 levels of 40 per cent) shows that whilst the number of people in the region aged 44 and below will remain stable, numbers in the age groups 45 to 64 and 65 and over will increase dramatically, particularly in the next 15 years - presumably as the baby-boom cohort ages.

FIGURE 5.3



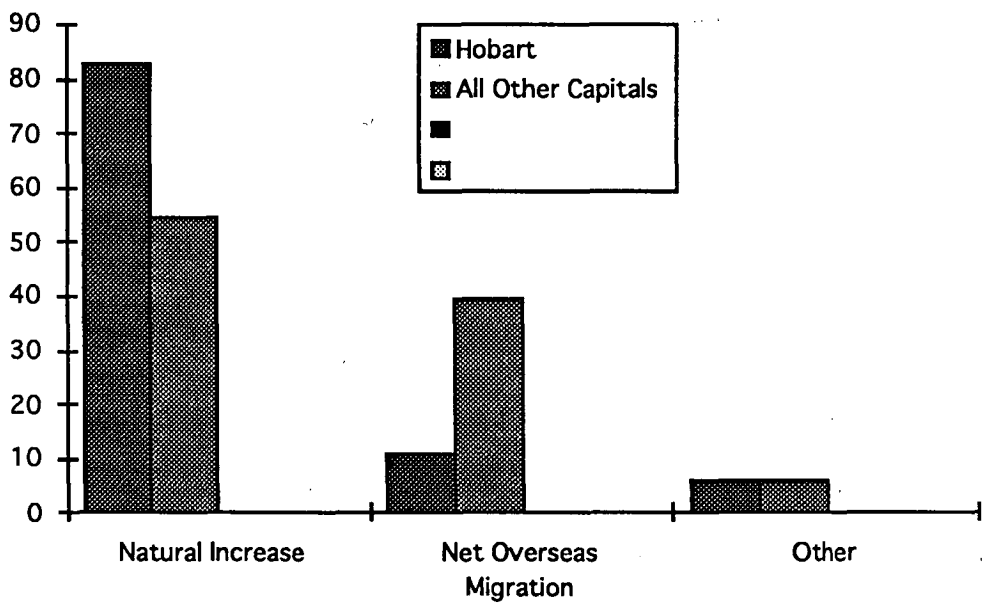
Source: ABS, Population Projections

5.4.4 An Homogeneous Population

The proportion of people in the Hobart Statistical Division born overseas is only about half that of Australia as a whole. 12.6 per cent of the population of the Hobart Statistical Division was born overseas according to the 1991 Census,whereas 22.8 per cent of the Australian population was born overseas. Lee(1984) puts this down to a relatively low manufacturing employment base, which has failed to act as an attractor of migrants.

FIGURE 5.4

COMPARISON OF VARIOUS COMPONENTS OF POPULATION GROWTH BETWEEN HOBART STATISTICAL DIVISION AND ALL OTHER AUSTRALIAN CAPITALS 1981-1991 ('000s)

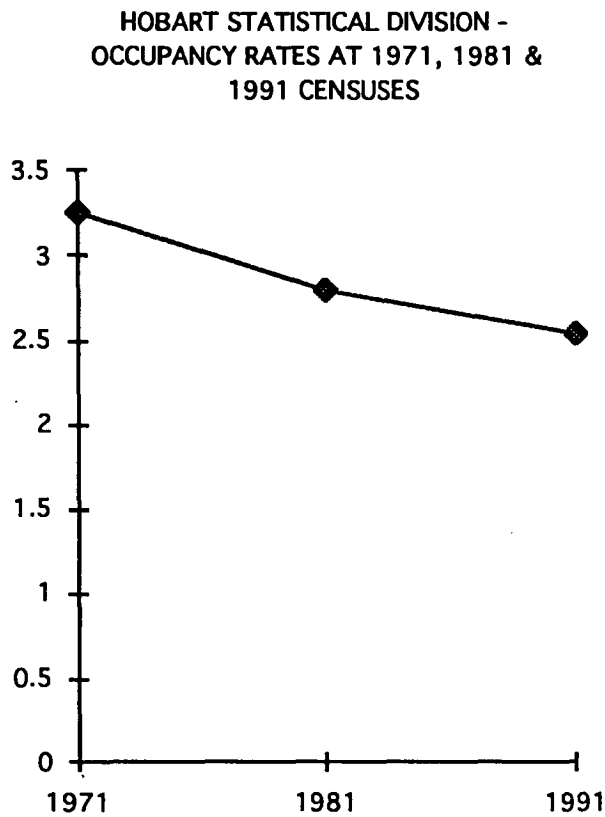


Source: ABS

5.4.5 A Declining Occupancy Rate

There is a national trend towards reduced household size. However, the Greater Hobart Statistical Division exhibits a significantly smaller occupancy rate than Australia as a whole. The occupancy rate is calculated by dividing the total population of the region by the total number of private dwellings. This rate has decreased from 3.25 in 1971 to 2.79 in 1981 and to 2.54 in 1991. In comparison, the national occupancy rate has decreased from 3.0 in 1981 down to 2.7 in 1991.

FIGURE 5.5



Since 1971, the region's stock of private dwellings has increased by 24 695 whereas the total population of the region has increased by only 28 616. This equates to a

construction rate of 1 additional dwelling for every 1.16 extra people.

This decreased household size is a function of many factors primarily centred upon structural change in the population. These factors include the breakdown of the nuclear family, a decline in fertility rates, an ageing population and increased numbers of people choosing to live alone, or to enter into relationships later in life.

5.5 REGIONAL POPULATION POLICY

Under a sustainable development regime, the region's natural systems can not be pushed beyond their carrying capacity. In its National Report on Population for the United Nations International Conference on Population and Development in 1994, the Australian Government acknowledged the present dearth of research into links between population levels and environmental degradation.(p. 38) It also considered the determination of an optimal population to be impractical - in part because views as to the country's carrying capacity had been 'widely discrepant'. However, it did acknowledge that, "Population size and consumption habits have an impact on the environment." (Government of Australia, p. 44)

The Federal Government stated that it had determined that a formal population policy was not appropriate for Australia because of the country's low level of fertility and the diversity of community views as to the nature of such a policy. (Government of Australia, p. 7) However, it pointed to activity in a number of policy areas with direct bearing upon population; such as immigration, environmental protection, family planning and aged care.

An inquiry into 'Population Issues and Australia's Future' was commissioned by the Australian Government in 1990. The report which resulted from this inquiry recommended:

1. That the Government develop a population policy which seeks to influence and respond to population change to advance economic progress, ecological integrity, social justice and responsible international involvement.

2. That this population policy not ony responds to population trends, but also assesses the impacts of public policy upon those trends and directly seeks to influence the size or nature of the population through the population determinants.

3. That a population policy would not specify an optimum level of population, but would seek to ensure that the size, location and composition of Australia's population was optimal from the point of view of national interest. (Population Issues Committee, p. ix)

The issue of population policy therefore becomes a central one. What population can the region sustain and at what level of consumption? Connectedness with other regions is also a consideration. As other regions feel the pressure of over-population within Australia and overseas, a region such as Hobart with excess capacity has a responsibility to provide a 'safety valve' within, of course, the limits of carrying capacity.

Hobart's planners operate as if population is an exogenous variable - which is, to a certain extent, true. Yet, even if the region's population is to a large extent externally determined, there remains a need for policies to respond appropriately to those population outcomes. However, it is within Hobart's power as a region to liaise with policy

makers at State and national level to influence the flow of migrants into the region.

Hobart's rate of receipt of migrants has fallen markedly since the end of the post-war period - to the extent that Hobart has by far the lowest proportion of overseas born people of any capital city. Yet Tasmania is the Australian State most amply endowed with water. Hobart stands to gain by increasing the flow of migrants to the region - in return for jobs, the increase in population within acceptable carrying capacity limits would increase the size of the domestic market - boosting the viability of the local service economy.

It would also benefit the region's connectivity with the rest of the world. A pool of Hobart's people, versed in other languages and cultures, and with contacts to other regions, would be an invaluable asset to regional wealth creation. This is not to mention the cultural benefits of a diverse population base.

Hobart's population is already older on average than the Australian population - and this population is predicted to age dramatically into the future. This is expected to have a marked effect upon the local way of life - which should be anticipated and planned for now. The pool of economically active people is likely to be smaller. The dependency ratio - that is the ratio of dependent population (aged 0-14 and 65 plus) per one hundred people of working age - is projected to remain relatively stable in Tasmania at about 54% for the next twenty years before climbing to 71.5 % by 2041.

In addition, the predominance of a suburban built-form designed to accommodate a much younger population, centred upon the nuclear family - and its later explosion into belts of rural residential development, has consequences for the future provision of social infrastructure.

5.6 INEQUALITY

In the preface to the 1981 Edition of 'Hobart ...A Social Atlas' published in 1984, Lee observed that the "mosaic of residential patterns in Hobart reflect stark inequalities in our society" (Lee, p. ix) Lee suggested that patterns of inequality were most clearly evidenced on the Western Shore through the contrast between the affluent suburbs of Sandy Bay and Taroona with the northern industrial suburbs and the older inner core.

This pattern seems to have changed markedly in the intervening decade. The inner Western Shore suburbs have undergone a process of gentrification. In addition, the Eastern Shore appears now to exhibit the most graphic examples of inequality - with more affluent areas such as Otago and Tranmere in reasonably close proximity to poorer areas such as Bridgewater, Gagebrook, Rokeby and Clarendon Vale.

TABLE 5.2 - INDICATORS OF EXTREMES OF INEQUALITY IN HOBART'S EASTERN SHORE SUBURBS

Suburb	Median Family Income ($)	Unemployment Rate	Percentage With No Qualifications	Percentage Owning or Purchasing a Home
Gagebrook	$17 360	51.8%	72.7%	11.8%
Clarendon Vale	$18 370	38.5%	68.8%	27.5%
Otago	$44 720	5.4%	59.6%	90.9%
Tranmere	$43 870	7.6%	55.1%	90.1%
All Hobart Suburbs	$32 360	12.4%	62%	66.7%

Source - ABS Census data 1991

The overall pattern of inequality in Hobart appears largely to be concentrated on public housing areas.

The statistics for median family income in Hobart suburbs at the time of the 1991 Census, revealed a mean family income by suburb in Hobart of $32549 per annum. However, 20 per cent of Hobart suburbs exhibited a median income more than one standard deviation below this average - that is below $25616 per annum. Of the 9 suburbs which fell into this category, 8 were public housing areas: Bridgewater, Chigwell, Clarendon Vale, Gagebrook, Goodwood, Risdon vale, Rokeby and Warrane.

At the same census, 17 per cent of Hobart's suburbs exhibited a median family income greater than one standard deviation away from the mean, or $ 39482. These were the suburbs of Fern Tree, Howrah, Mount Nelson, Old Beach, Otago, Sandy bay, Taroona and Tranmere.

The fact that over one third of Hobart's suburbs had at the time of the 1991 census a median income more than one standard deviation away from the mean of all Hobart suburbs seems to confirm the considerable disparities which exist in the regional society.

Broadhectare public housing development began in the immediate post war period in Hobart's northern suburbs and on the Eastern Shore. The task was to construct houses for a rapidly expanding population in a climate of private market failure and limited construction resources. This large-scale 'land banking' approach was only abandoned at the beginning of the 1980's in favour of spot purchase and infill construction after the destructive social effects of broadhectare public housing became obvious.

It is estimated that approximately 20 per cent of the housing stock in the Hobart Region was constructed by the public housing authority. Presently about 12.5 per cent of the housing stock is owned by the Housing Services Division of the Department of Community and Health Services. Of this amount, just over 2 per cent is in the process of being purchased by its occupants. (P Liebenecht, Pers Comm 5/10/94)

These public housing areas appear to be stigmatised - to the extent that the Housing Services Division is evaluating options for broadhectare public areas as their clients do not want to live in them. (P Liebenecht, Pers Comm 5/10/94) They also tend to be located distant from full urban services. These areas are also dominated by leasehold tenure. As a result the residents are not able to take advantage of the tax-exempt capital gains available to those with freehold tenure.

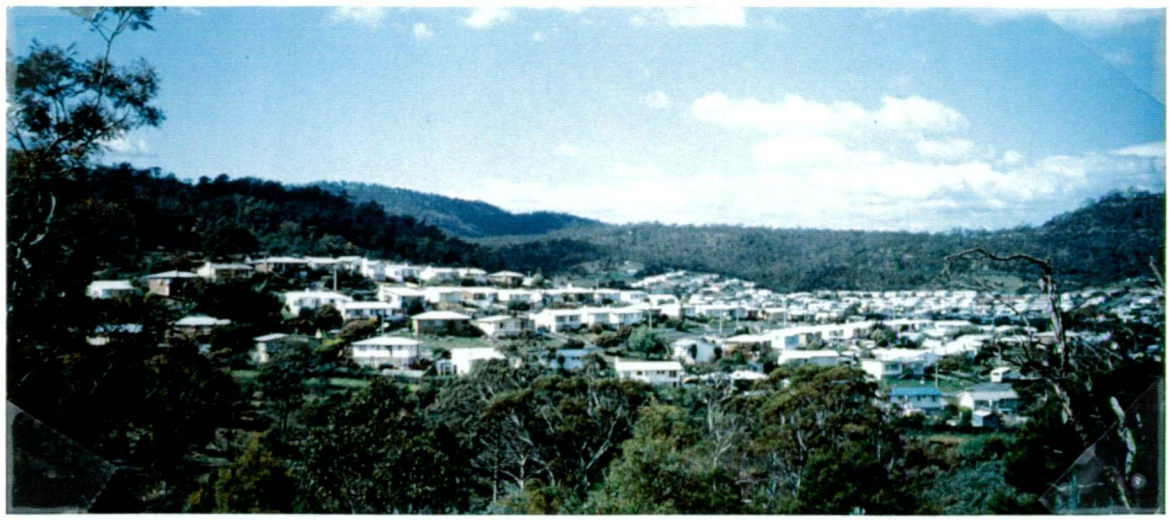
However, whilst the most visible, public housing areas are not the only areas subject to poverty. Studies have shown that those in private rental accommodation are often under considerable stress as high rents restrict disposable income, as are aged people living on social security benefits.

The egalitarian nature of Australian society, if it ever existed, is changing. The rich really are getting richer, and the poor poorer. Yet, even within Australia, there is a growing gap between rich and poor. "Between 1976 and 1992, the proportion of Australian households with a real income of more than $72 000 rose from 15 per cent to 30 per cent. At the same time, the proportion of households with an income of less than $22 000 rose from 20 per cent to 30 per cent."(Mackay, pp. 137-138)

This trend frustrates the sustainable development principle of equity within and between generations. In the words of

Barry Jones, a person's life chances are most likely to be determined by their postcode. Socio-economic segregation is a very clear phenomenon in Hobart.

FIGURE 5.6 - THE GAP BETWEEN RICH AND POOR IS WIDENING



Risdon Vale, developed as a broadacre public housing estate.

Part of the affluent suburb of Sandy Bay.

Photos: Author

What actions can be taken at a local level to redress this imbalance? Planning has a role to play in ensuring improved equality of access to social infrastructure. Positive discrimination is required.

5.7 PLACES OF CULTURAL SIGNIFICANCE

Earlier in this chapter, it was stated that, for many reasons, the cultural dimension is one of increasing importance. These reasons include:

- global pressures for cultural homogenisation and the need for identity;
- attractiveness of local culture in terms of tourism and population and business relocation; and
- the ability of this sphere to provide a source of meaning and fruitful employment for local people.

One of the key ways to ensure the preservation and enrichment of local culture is to inculcate into the regional populace a sense of perspective about regional history. This process is assisted by the protection of tangible clues as to the region's past and signs of its cultural present.

Whilst individual planning schemes within the region list places of cultural significance and seek to preserve these through appropriate provisions, there does not appear to have been any attempt made to make the history of the region coherent and vivid to local people or to visitors.

Preparation of a regional database of places of cultural significance would be an important first step in this process, along with the assignment of the significance of particular places in terms of their community of interest. That is, local , regional, national, global.

These places of cultural significance would not be restricted to heritage items , but would also include significant landscape and natural features and sites of contemporary importance to the regional culture.

In addition to the compilation of such an inventory, the development of a thematic history of the region is an important priority. Several of these histories have been prepared at local level in recent years by Hobart (for its central area), Clarence and Glenorchy.

These measures will serve to promote the development of a regional identity and, thereby, a regional consciousness.

Chapter 6

Conclusion

" For it is surely of the essence of the evolution concept - hard though it be to realise it, more difficult still to apply it -that it should not only inquire how this of to-day may have come out of that of yesterday, but be foreseeing and preparing what the morrow is now in its turn bringing towards birth. This of course is difficult - so difficult as ever to be throwing us back to inquire into present conditions, and beyond these into earlier ones; yet with the result that in these inquiries, necessary as they are, fascinating as they become, a whole generation of specialists, since the doctrine of evolution came clearly into view, have lost sight or courage to return to its main problem - that of the discernment of present tendency, amid the apparent phantasmagoria of change." (Geddes, p.4)

6.0 INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this project has been to investigate the application of Patrick Geddes' theory of civics and concept of synoptic vision in a contemporary setting. The Hobart Metropolitan Region was chosen because of a perceived lack of a comprehensive overview of the region and the turbulent history of regional planning.

The theories of Patrick Geddes struck a familiar chord with the author. Cities in Evolution, Geddes' major work, adopted an approach which addressed themes of contemporary relevance. These include:

- The poverty of an economically rationalist approach to the planning of metropolitan regions.
- The prime importance of maintaining intact the natural, social and cultural values which underpin the best of regions.
- The opportunities offered by appropriate employment of new technologies.
- The critical need for an overview when addressing urban issues.

- The critical need to involve citizens in the planning of their metropolitan region.

Geddes' concept of synoptic vision is a multi-dimensional one - involving perspectives of the city in physical, temporal and conceptual terms , utilising different points of view. The synoptic vision is a synthesis of the essence of the region - a necessary companion to the comprehensive regional survey for which Geddes is best remembered.

It is argued that as a society becomes increasingly saturated with information, sp the sense of perspective offered by a synoptic vision is essential. By extracting the essential information from a 'sea' of data, the synoptic vision becomes a tool for communication. For planning, if it ever was, is decreasingly the province of planners. This is partly a reflection of increased community calls for involvement in the decision-making processes which affect it; and partly a result of the broadening of the compass of planning as an activity within a sustainable development regime.

As a result of the enormity of the challenge involved in distilling the essence of the Hobart Metropolitan Region, it was decided that some abstraction was required to render the task more manageable through choice of an appropriate model. The model chosen was the *Lieu, Travail, Famille* model of French, nineteenth century sociographer Frederic Le Play. Geddes translated this to "Place, Work, Folk". This relationship was used as the framework for a personal synoptic vision of the Hobart Metropolitan Region.

It was also argued that it is impossible nowadays to plan for the region without recognition of a global context. With the growth in the scale of human environmental impact, a burgeoning world population and the development of a global economy, national, regional and local boundaries are of declining relevance. In this project, an attempt has been

made to provide an explicit global context to underpin the consideration of issues at regional level.

6.1 A SUMMARY OF THE PLACE- WORK - FOLK MODEL OF THE HOBART METROPOLITAN REGION

6.1.1 Place

- Hobart is the possessor of a magnificent regional setting. However, this landscape is being incrementally degraded through inappropriate skyline development.

- The region's dominant natural features, Mount Wellington and the Derwent River, have been used and abused by Hobartians. As multiple use resources with complex management arrangements, they have been the subject of considerable public debate, which has tested their respective planning mechanisms.

- The explosive dispersion of the regional population was identified as a major problem with many determinants. This expansion is considered problematic from the point of view of infrastructure costs, increased contribution to global warming and habitat loss.

6.1.2 Work

In the context of an emergent global information / knowledge- based economy, the regional economy was found to have the following characteristics:

- A slow rate of economic growth, a small domestic market and locational disadvantage in supply of high volume, low-value added products to overseas and interstate markets.

- A high level of centrality of employment, with half the jobs in the region located within the City of Hobart and 70 per

cent of regional employment shared between Hobart and Glenorchy.

- Heavy dependence upon public enterprise. Recent restructuring and gains in private employment have seen the public sector's share of the labour force decline from 36 per cent in 1981 to 29. 2 per cent in 1991.

- Experiencing the transition from manufacturing to service - based employment. Decline in the manufacturing workforce by 4000 jobs in the two decades to 1991. At the same time, employment in the services sector has increased by some 15000 jobs.

- Declining importance as a port city.

- Good prospects for low volume, high quality, highly differentiated products which are air transportable.

6.1.3 Folk

This chapter focussed upon issues of population, inequality and sense of place. The population of the Hobart Metropolitan Region was found to have the following characteristics:

- The lowest rate of population growth over the ten years to 1991 of all cities over 100,000 people in Australia.

- A dispersed and dispersing population with urban fringe local government areas increasing their share of the regional population from 8.9 per cent in 1971 to 21.9 per cent in 1991.

- An ageing population, with a dramatic increase in the number of people aged over 45, particularly within the next fifteen years.

- An homogeneous population, with only about half the proportion of overseas-born people in comparison to the national average.

- Considerable socio-economic polarisation, with over a third of Hobart's suburbs exhibiting a median income more than one standard deviation removed from the mean family income of Hobart suburbs.

- The majority of lower socio-economic areas (as measured by family income) are current or former public housing areas.

- Absence of a population policy for the metropolitan region.

- No comprehensive regional database of places of cultural significance exists.

- No adequate contemporary thematic history of the region as a whole.

6.2 ADDRESSING THE REGIONAL POLICY VACUUM

A regional synoptic vision has a complementary role to the task of comprehensive regional survey. As a result, no pretence is made that the synoptic vision developed in this project can arrive at a comprehensive recommended suite of strategic and policy measures for the region. It is obvious that major issues such as regional infrastructure provision have not been considered in great depth. It is considered that this was, properly, beyond the scope of this synoptic vision which sought to concentrate on regional issues considered by the author to have received comparatively less attention in planning circles.

However, the following strategic/policy issues have been identified from the Place- Work -Folk model for Hobart developed in this project:

(i) Settlement Strategy
The explosive spatial growth of the Hobart region needs to be studied with a view to the adoption of measures to retard it. As mentioned in Chapter 3, the issue is multi-dimensional. As a result, a suite of measures will be required in response.

(ii) Greenhouse Response Strategy
Steps need to be taken to translate the strategies prepared at national level into regionally appropriate form. Kinrade stresses that the sources and extent of Tasmania's greenhouse gas generation is different from other places - hence, the call for a regionally appropriate response.

(iii) Inventory of Regional Natural Resources
Whilst much work has been done in this field, the coverage of the region has been ad hoc and patchy. There is a need for a concerted effort to be made to bring this information into a unified database and to sponsor research aimed at filling the voids. A better knowledge and understanding of the natural systems of the region is required if we are to adopt a truly sustainable planning framework.

The inventory would need as a matter of priority to concentrate on identification of the range of rare and endangered species, so that measures can be taken to preserve habitat.

(iv) Regional Wealth Creation Strategy
The projects of State significance process introduced under the recent legislative reform concentrates upon industrial age concepts whose time is passing. It is small business rather than industrial mega-development which is the way forward.

The regional economy is languishing. There is a real need to adopt a planned approach to wealth creation which seeks to promote a vibrant and robust regional economy which recognises new global economic realities. At the same time there is considerable scope for promotion of the local economy as a hedge against over- dependence upon foreign markets.

In a land use planning sense, the implications may be quite revolutionary as new economic realities require a new approach to planning based on different locational dynamics.

(v) Regional Landscape

There is a real need to impose some collective discipline as it is evident that existing planning arrangements are not protecting the regional skyline. An assessment of the values inherent in the regional landscape is urgently required, along with a review of the efficacy of existing planning scheme provisions. Outcomes of the process could include:

- Formulation of design guidelines for development in skyline areas.
- Possible altered assessment procedures for developments which threaten the integrity of the landscape.

(vi) Population Policy

Though apparently fraught with difficulty, the estimation of regional carrying capacity is the first step to a sustainable population policy for the region.

While the business community calls fora bigger domestic market and a certain homogeneity of culture is noted, measures cannot be taken to increase regional population until the sustainable limits can be estimated.

(vii) Locational Disadvantage

Measures which explicitly recognise the widening inequality within the regional are unfashionable. However, there is a need to identify areas of socio-economic disadvantage and ascertain whether or not some of this disadvantage can be attributed to an unreasonably lower standard of social infrastructure provision, residential amenity or access to places of employment . Planning measures can be taken to improve access and accessibility for those affected.

(viii) Regional Cultural Policy

Whilst the issue of places of regional cultural significance and the need for a regional thematic history have already been discussed in Chapter 5, these should take place within the umbrella of a broader cultural policy for the region.

As places are the stage for important cultural events, planning measures can be adopted as an outcome to safeguard or improve the endowment of these places.

6.3 REGIONAL PLANNING STRUCTURES

From Geddes, we see that the development of a synoptic vision is the critical function of any regional planning structure. However, no appropriate planning structure is currently in place to provide such an overview of the Hobart Metropolitan Region.

6.3.1 Growth Has Outstripped Municipal Boundaries

As the tentacles of the Hobart Region have spread further afield, the region's planning function has become increasingly disintegrated. The urban area has increased from the city of Hobart alone , to include Glenorchy in the early years of the century, Clarence from the 1940s and Brighton, Kingborough, New Norfolk and Sorell from the 1970s onwards. Local government boundaries have not kept pace with the growth of the city-region.

Yet, despite regular reviews, pressure for redefinition of the boundaries has been resisted since their establishment in 1907. The latest round of Local Government reorganisation in 1992 resulted in changes to municipal boundaries for the predominantly rural local government areas. However, the cities were left largely untouched by these adjustments because the purpose of the review was to ensure that smaller councils were of a viable size. (Casey, M. Pers Comm)

It has therefore become impossible for any individual council to develop a regional overview. The consequences are non-democratic as well. With the majority of cultural and employment facilities located in the City of Hobart, the majority of the regional population, which lives outside the City of Hobart is left without direct voting rights.

Geddes, when confronted with a similar problem, at a greater scale (London) urged: " .... if the growth process continues , as in every way obviously under present conditions it must, the governing body must overtake the spreading growth, and bring all that is really functional London into its province, with economy and advantage to the vast majority of all concerned." (Geddes, p.28)

6.3.2 Lack of Coordination in Service Provision

From Chapter 1, it can be seen that previous attempts at regional planning within the Hobart Metropolitan Region have failed owing to the machinations of vested interests- either within local government itself, the development industry, or at State service level.

That regional planning which exists, currently occurs in a fragmented way. Individual Council and service providers operate, to a large extent, in isolation from each other. As a result, conflicting strategies are adopted which are mutually-defeating. An example is the residential growth of the Sorell-

Southern Beaches area which threatens the requirement for considerable expenditure to upgrade existing roads and bridges to the area.

Another problem is the engineering focus of some service providers who supply services upon demand wherever technically feasible, without considering the strategic consequences of that infrastructure provision. This has occurred in the past with provision of reticulated water to outlying rural residential areas, which has increased pressure for greater residential density in the vicinity.

"Australian local government does not carry the major public development services role of housing, major traffic planning, public transport (now), health services, education, welfare and police services. These are State functions. In metropolitan areas, water, drainage and solid waste disposal may also be in the hands of State agencies. ...

McNeill considers the lack of co-ordination or inclusiveness of previous regional planning structures to be a major factor in their demise: Attempts at regional planning using the master planning model were structured upon a loose assembly of constituent local governments. Even at this scale, there was no involvement of the major state government metropolitan development agencies. The attempts largely failed through these structural deficiencies. "Ad hoc' state planning exercises , such as for transportation or for water supply, bypassed the regional bodies." (McNeill, p. 11)

It must be acknowledged that the Urban Management Coordination Program is currently being trialed through the Commonwealth's Building Better Cities initiative. The outcomes of this program are not known at the time of writing.

The HMCA exists as an example of voluntary regional cooperation. However, it does not possess the resources to do more than respond to regional problems as they arise - such as water quality in the Derwent River or solid waste disposal. It appears also that the HMCA is limited by its constituent councils to issues of a non-contentious nature.

6.3.3 Self Interest

It is human nature and political good sense for an elected representative to act so as to seek to maximise the benefit flowing to constituents from her or his actions. This occurs even where the benefit to constituents may cause detriment to someone else's constituents.

For this reason, many contentious regional issues cannot be appropriately addressed by a group such as the HMCA which relies on voluntary regional co-operation.

6.4 A METROPOLITAN REGIONAL PLANNING STRUCTURE FOR HOBART - RECOMMENDED SELECTION CRITERIA

A large number of potential regional planning structures are possible. Whilst it is beyond the scope of this work to canvass these, a number of characteristics considered desirable for a metropolitan regional planning structure for Hobart are recommended:

(i) Ability to develop a synoptic vision of the metropolitan region

The structure must have sufficient scope, resources and power to develop a comprehensive overview of the region.

(ii) Representative of the regional community

The structure should be a democratic one which is elected, at least in part, at regional level.

(iii) Provides a bridge between service providers from at least State and local government level

Without the involvement of all major service providers, the regional planning process is fraught with difficulty.

(iv) Have clear, non-conflicting objectives

The role of the structure must be clearly defined and must not bring it into direct conflict with other bodies.

(v) Power should be devolved to the lowest level consistent with the appropriate community of interest.

The aim is to avoid creating another tier in the planning hierarchy. However, this should not be taken to the extreme that allows capture by local interest groups.

In addition, the structure must not be seen as threatening from the vantage point of existing political power structures.

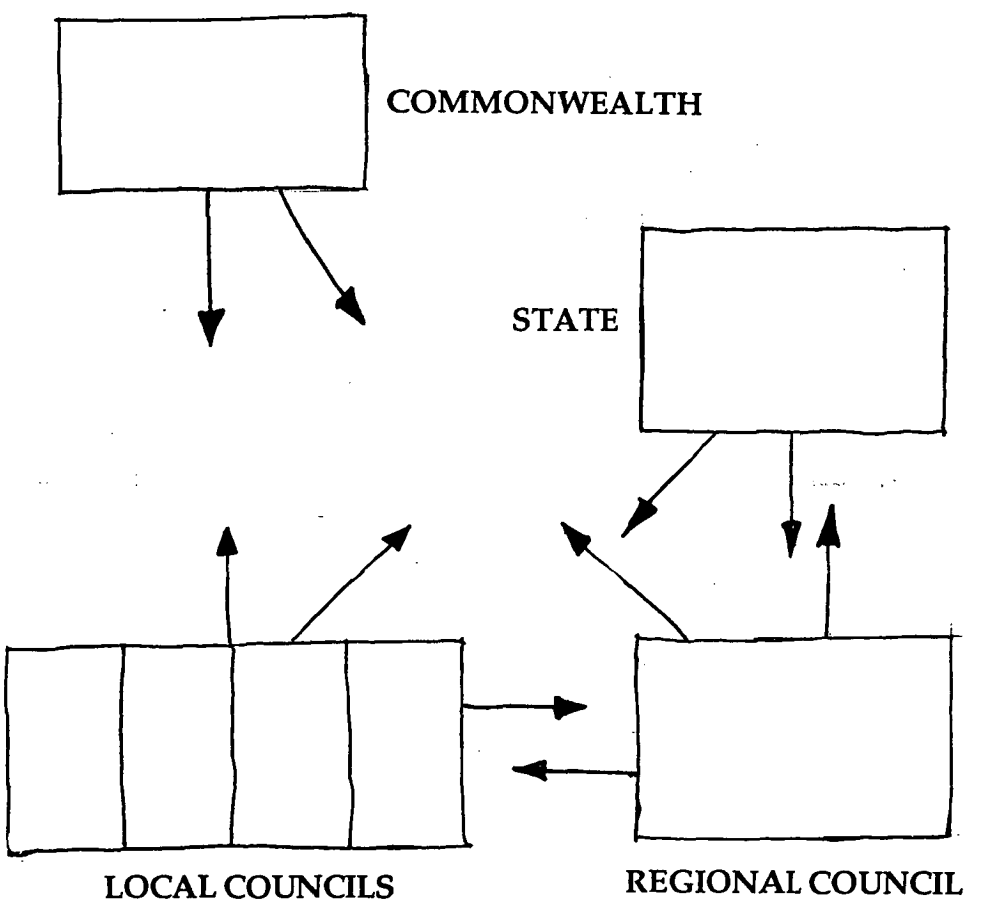
(vi) Accountability without political expediency

The interests of sustainable development are best served by a body which will focus on long term strategies, rather than opportunism.

6.5 A RECOMMENDED REGIONAL PLANNING STRUCTURE FOR THE HOBART METROPOLITAN REGION

It is not within the scope of this paper to comprehensively address all possible structures for metropolitan regional planning. However, the following structure is suggested without the benefit of such a comprehensive process:

FIGURE 6.1 - A RECOMMENDED REGIONAL PLANNING STRUCTURE FOR THE HOBART METROPOLITAN REGION



The proposed structure involves the creation of a regional council which would sit parallel with local governments in the hierarchy of tiers of government. The regional council would be responsible for the co-ordination of infrastructure funding for regional works and the development of a regional information base. The regional Council would also possess the delegated power of the Land Use Planning Review Panel to make decisions on the approval of regional planning schemes and amendments to planning schemes.

Local and regional council functions would be reviewed with the clear intention of minimising duplication or conflict between these parallel forms of government. Where feasible, the removal of functions and powers from existing local governments would be avoided to minimise resistance to change. Local and regional councils would be exercising different and complementary functions.

It is acknowledged that the addition of another body to the governmental structure may complicate inter-governmental negotiations over matters such as funding. However, it may be that the regional council can act in some way as a funding conduit or broker - thus streamlining the existing processes. The regional council would need the ability to directly participate within the strategic and budget processes of State service providing agencies.

The new body would also create the need for another bureaucracy to serve it. However, there would be devolution of power from State level to regional level as functions now performed by the Land Use Planning Review Panel would be handed down.

Representatives would be elected to the body for a longer term than local government representatives, making the regional council less susceptible to political expediency and 'pork barrelling'.

This structure is considered superior to a strengthened HMCA because it has a regional constituency rather than a series of local ones. This makes it, at once, less liable to capture by vested interests and more representative of the appropriate community of interest.

Important issues such as the funding of the new regional council would need to be clarified. However, the discussion of issues of detail is outside of the scope of this project.

6.6 CONCLUSION - A 'FUZZY' VISION FOR THE HOBART METROPOLITAN REGION

By extrapolating on the themes addressed by Patrick Geddes, it is possible to gain some clues about the desirable qualities of a possible Hobart Metropolitan Region of the 21st century:

- Environmental integrity and high quality of life are at the basis of the region's huge popularity as a centre for tourism and information-based industry. The regional skyline has been well protected and offers an example to other places which have been more 'pro-development'.

- The region is known for its universally high quality of life. Regional assets such as Mount Wellington and the Derwent River foreshore are popular escapes. Cultural life is thriving, with public art much more in evidence since the regional council's enlightened cultural strategy in the 1990s.

- Housing choice is diverse, with many more people choosing to live closer to existing centres of population. A carbon tax has made petroleum engines too expensive for daily commuting and alternative fuels are still relatively expensive. An improved public transport system, the

development of a regional network of bikeways and the residential redevelopment of former industrial areas has increased the feasibility of living closer in. Many people now prefer to live closer to the vibrant inner city areas.

- The suburbs have received a new lease of life as linear open space systems have been upgraded. Many of the ageing 'baby boom' generation have repented their earlier flight from the city and now prefer to live closer to friends and relatives.

- The region's inhabitants are known for their obvious regional spirit which is promoted from an early age through multi-media education about the story of the region and visits to the Hobart Outlook Tower - a centre of regional environmental and cultural information. An initiative of the Regional Council, the Outlook Tower has also become a popular attraction for tourists and professionals, with its comprehensive information base on the region's attractions and its history.

- The major employment sources are the information and human services areas. This structural shift from the now obsolete industrial age was eased by the development of a regional wealth creation policy which saw strategic investments in new forms of education. Many more people now work from home, or close to it - particularly those living in outlying rural residential areas.

- The thriving Bridgewater Science and Technology Park has been a major boost to employment in the former public housing area, helped by the establishment of the University of Tasmania's Information Technology Study Centre at Gagebrook.

- The region's major port is now the Hobart airport. A concentration of industries requiring proximity are clustered around it.

- Above all, there is a different ethic in evidence. Economic rationalism was jettisoned two decades ago, dying a slow death with its companion, the industrial age. The development of quality of life and environmental indicators has changed the way in which people perceive their region. Land is no longer a commodity to be traded. Rather it is an indivisible part of the whole. The people of the region are now caretakers, rather than brokers.

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